SPECULUM

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THOMAS AQUINAS' DOCTRINE OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS HISTORICAL SETTING

By RICHARD McKEON

HISTORIANS of philosophy, until recently, penetrated only rarely into the fifteen hundred years that preceded the seventeenth century. But in the last two decades we have been accustomed to the judgment that, if there is a properly modern period, it should be made to begin with the thirteenth century and its first great figure should be Thomas Aquinas. Whatever else such opinions may indicate, at least the paradoxes and the fashions of the history of thought are exhibited in them. Scholasticism had been arid formalism, logic chopping and unsubstantiated apriorism. Information to that effect could be gathered from the repeated statements of critics and historians since the seventeenth century. But now mediaeval philosophy may be fitted in a continuous flow of thought which will discover in it a homogeneity with the philosophy of the present day: the thirteenth century, it is specified, saw the separation of philosophy from theology in subject-matter as well as in method; reason had therefore vindicated for itself, by this time, a proper content; nature had taken on again a separate reality.

The newer estimation gives rise to questions as important to philosophy and to the history of thought as were the paradoxes involved in the older view. There are, indeed, dangers in the conception of scholasticism which traces its progress in the jostling positions of faith and reason; in effect it is but little removed from the injustice of the view that disposed of scholasticism as superstition

and authority-ridden. If philosophy was constituted in the western world for the first time during the thirteenth century, the status of speculative inquiry in the centuries which preceded the thirteenth remains to be examined. If the statement be taken literally and if the homogeneous development of earlier philosophy be considered in conjunction with it, the conclusion may suggest itself that between Porphyry in the third century and Aquinas in the thirteenth no philosophy was expounded in the Christian world — and on that conclusion should follow at least some further speculation concerning what philosophy must then be. It should be made clear what, for example, the basis of the speculative independence discovered in the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas is. What in the relation of thinking and being, in the status of truth and error, in the systematic and metaphysical formulation of thought, distinguishes his philosophy so sharply from those which preceded it? These are questions, moreover, that prepare for a further question, since the attitude which Aquinas strikes, modern in contrast to an earlier one, is to lead to an evolution of thought through four hundred years until in the seventeenth century a reaction may take place to result in an attitude of mind, so it is insisted, again characteristically modern. The critical canons from which Aquinas turned no less than the critical canons which resulted from the dissolution of the Thomist system demand detailed examination unless these newer estimations are to be taken as new aphorisms and half-truths on turns of history.

The discussion of the nature and the limits of knowledge has sometimes been supposed to have undergone but little change or alteration in the Middle Ages. The formulae of the discussion are repeated from writer to writer, and read superficially treatises seem to expound the same doctrines in the same words. Aristotle had set the terms of the discussion before the beginning of the period: we define the truth, he had written, saying that that which is is and that which is not is not.[1] Augustine repeated the doctrine in his statement of what truth is: the true is that which is,[2] and truth is

[1] Aristotle, *Meta.*, Γ, 7, 1011b.

[2] '*Ergo illud dico et sic definio, nec uereor ne definitio mea ob hoc improbetur, quod nimis breuis est: nam uerum mihi uidetur esse id quod est.*' — Augustine, *Soliloquiorum Libri Duo*, ii, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* XXXII, 889).

that by which that which is, is shown.[1] Anselm quotes Aristotle's statement, though of course without mention of Aristotle,[2] and on the basis of it develops his favorite definition of truth: truth is rightness perceptible to the mind alone.[3] Finally, Aquinas brings all these together and finds among them one, borrowed from Isaac Israeli, particularly suited to his purpose, and in complete harmony with the rest: truth is the adequation of thing and understanding.[4] Sharply opposed philosophies may repeat these definitions and seem, therefore, in accord, since on crucial questions they can express themselves in identical phrases. But it is important that in the respective systems the definitions undergo a dialectical translation and take changed meanings, though the words are unchanged, from the doctrines among which they are placed. Abstracted from the systems in which they are placed the formulae have no philosophic significance.

For obviously, if truth is an adequation of thing and understanding, the question remains still untouched — what evidence will show forth satisfactorily the accord of a judgment with things? in what does the adequation consist? The history of the ontological argument and of proofs *a priori* of the existence of God may be used as vivid illustration of the divergences which are possible among philosophers who hold to a single description of truth. Anselm's proof was an expression of his conviction that thought penetrates significantly to the ultimate nature of things. Ideas are to be considered, not as images or replicas, but as realities, and they are, like other realities, possessed of degrees of perfection. The idea of a being than which a greater cannot be conceived is itself a reality — the idea of a perfect being is a perfect idea — and consequently the transition from idea to reality has been made in the very being of the perfect idea. If the idea of God or if the nature of knowledge be examined,

[1] '*Sed cui saltem illud manifestum est, falsitatem esse, qua id putatur esse quod non est, intellegit eam esse ueritatem, quae ostendit id quod est.*' — Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, 36 (*Patr. Lat.* XXIV, 151).

[2] Anselm, *Dialogus de Veritate* ii (*Patr. Lat.*, CLVIII, 469, 470).

[3] '*Possumus igitur, nisi fallor, diffinire quia ueritas est rectitudo sola mente perceptibilis*,' Anselm, *de Verit.* ii (*Patr. Lat.* CLVIII, 480).

[4] Aquinas, *de Veritate*, q. 1, a. 1, *ad Resp.*

they must be seen to involve in themselves the presence and efficacy of God. But there were men to object to this analysis of thinking as soon as Anselm had stated it, and the objection of Gaunilon has come down, to be repeated at each stage of the history of the ontological proof. To Albertus Magnus the argument seemed a Pythagorean sophism;[1] Aquinas argued that, even if the word God meant a being than which a greater cannot be conceived (which may be doubted), even then it would not follow that that which is signified by the word, is in the nature of things; it is certain only that it is in the apprehension of the understanding.[2] Hobbes, Huet, Gassendi, Locke, and others were to repeat that the presence of an idea in the understanding is no warrant for the existence of the thing without the understanding, and Kant had objections which are different chiefly in terminology.[3] Yet the ontological argument did not die with the criticisms of Gaunilon or Aquinas. It had been indigenous to the Augustinian philosophy before Anselm; it continued to be developed after him. Bonaventura does not oppose it during the very years in which Aquinas attacked it;[4] Duns Scotus approved of it with important reservations and modifications;[5] that it had persisted in the tradition to the seventeenth century is indicated by Descartes's use of it as well as by Spinoza's predilection for arguments *a priori;* and it has by no means fallen from the philosophic issues of to-day. Between the Augustinian *a priori* approach and Aquinas's insistence on the *a posteriori* is more than an historic development; there is also a rooted philosophic difference.

Distinctions may be made, then, in what is thought to constitute an adequation of understanding and thing. Anselm was clearly aware of the implications of the interpretation he makes. At the

[1] '*Haec et huiusmodi sophismata multa induci possunt contra ea quae determinata sunt, si rationes Heracliti et Pythagorae et Anselmi in libro de Veritate*' — Albertus Magnus, *De Praedicamentis* ii, 13 (Paris: Vivès, 1890, I, 192).

[2] Th. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia, q. ii, a. 1, ad 2um. Cf. IV *Sent.*, I, d. III, a. 2, ad 4um; *Super Boeth., de Trinit.*, q. i, a. 3, ad 6um; *Quest. disp. de Veritate* q. x, a. 12, ad 2um; *Cont. Gent.*, I, c.x, xi.

[3] I. Kant, *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* II, iii, 4. Also *Prolegomena zu einer jeden kunftigen Metaphysik* III, iii, 55.

[4] Bonaventura, *IV Sent.*, I, d. VIII, p. 1, a. 1, q. ii (pub. Quaracchi, 1882, I, 154).

[5] Duns Scotus, *IV Sent.*, I, d. II, q. 11, n. 31–32 (Paris: Vivès, 1893, VIII, 478), cf. n. 14, p. 418 *ibid.*

beginning of his dialogue *De Veritate* he raises the question whether the truth of a true statement is to be sought in the thing.[1] Obviously it is not; it is to be sought in the proposition itself — not, of course, in the grammatical form of the proposition, but in considerations which can be satisfied without leaving the discursive realm. To be sure, the relation of understanding and thing is such that a proposition is true when things are in fact as it states them to be, but it should be considered too that a thing is as it is by reason of the supreme truth.[2] Most discussions of truth are confused, Anselm feels, because 'everyone speaks of the truth of meaning, but very few consider the truth which is in the essence of things.'[3] That a thing is, involves the definite exhibition in being, of what it is: for it to be necessitates that the definition of what is meant for it to be be fulfilled. 'Truth, therefore,' Anselm says, 'is in the essence of all things which are because they are that which in the supreme Truth they are.'[4] The very being of things is the truth and the rightness of that which they are in Truth. The problem of knowledge is soluble precisely because the definition of truth takes on an ontological significance.

To work among things, consequently, is to become involved in meanings; the truth of things is a rightness to a certain Truth; the truth of meaning is a like rightness. Not only the conventional signs and symbols with which we ordinarily communicate, but all our actions, are permeated with meanings. Anselm illustrates this saturation of things with significance: if you were in a place where there were deadly herbs and if you asked a man who knew, which were deadly and which salubrious, and if he indicated some as salubrious and himself ate of those he said were deadly, it would not be difficult to develop significances from his actions. It is metaphysical dogma that the rightness of meaning is in a statement whenever the statement is formed according to a rightness which never changes. Truth does not begin or end with the thing to which it is applied, for rightness does not begin to be at the moment when the thing which is signified begins to be, nor does it perish when the meaning

[1] Anselm, *de Verit.*, ii (*Patr. Lat.* CLVIII, 469).
[2] *Ibid.* X, 479. [3] *Ibid.* IX, 478. [4] *Ibid.* VII, 475.

is not as it should be or when there is no meaning; these are examples of a deficiency from a rightness which is not deficient. 'The rightness by which meaning is called right does not have being and non-being or any movement through meaning howsoever the meaning itself may be moved.' [1]

The philosophy of Anselm is turned to the source from which the essence of things and their truth are derived. If the question be of truth, truth is, of course, the signifying of something which is in fact, but what that is and, therefore, what truth is, should not lead to a consideration of the thing. 'Truth is improperly said to be of this or that thing, since it does not have its being in things or out of things or because of things in which it is said to be, but when things are according to that which is always present in things which are as they should be, then the truth of this or that thing is spoken of, as the truth of a word, of an action, or truth of will, just as one speaks of the time of this or that thing, although time is one and the same for all things which are together in the same time. And if there were not this or that thing, the same time would none the less be, and therefore one speaks of the time of this or that thing, not because time is in things, but because things are in time. And just as time, considered in itself, is not said to be the time of anything (but we speak of the time of this or that thing when we consider the things which are in it) so too the supreme Truth, persistent through itself, is the truth of nothing, but one speaks of the truth or rightness of a thing when that thing is according to the first truth.' [2]

Anselm's questioning is engaged wholly in the discovery, from many beginnings, of an identical truth, for Augustinism moves in a Platonic tradition, seeking to find, in truths which are demonstrated, the presence of a truth which is not to be demonstrated but rather to be contemplated and perceived. For Augustine and Anselm this is the activity of faith seeking the understanding of itself. The philosophy of each depends on the demonstration of the existence of God, but that demonstration is only the rational exploration of an idea irrationally derived, and therefore, though Anselm is rigorously precise, Augustine seldom takes the trouble even to state his proofs

[1] Anselm, *De Verit.* XIII, 485. [2] *Ibid.* XIII, 486.

in detail or to insure their formal cogency. All things are reminiscences and indications of God. The elements of this confidence concerning the nature of things might be stated as the postulates of a naturalistic philosophy or of a theology, but the exclusive preoccupation of Augustinians, at least prior to the thirteenth century, turned toward God. Human ingenuity is capable of only a few out of infinite possible truths, and wisdom seemed to counsel that only those be sought which would aid the soul on its itinerary back to God. Truths were to be the object of contemplation so long as the mind might be elevated by them to the Truth, and Bonaventura in his *Reductio Artium ad Theologiam* is the fitting representative of the tradition against Aquinas.

It is not always easy to be sure how far Thomas Aquinas has departed from the fundamental tenets of this tradition. He can assimilate most of its formulae with little modification; his references to Augustine are cautious and respectful, and he usually conciliates the opinion of Anselm. Yet his philosophy marks an important turning-point, for before him Albertus Magnus gives a place in his philosophy to the ontological proof,[1] notwithstanding that it seemed to him a sophism, whereas after him Duns Scotus finds he must 'color' the proof, although it seems to him a cogent and tenable demonstration. The philosophic significance of the Thomist reform is bound intimately with the suspicion of *a priori* demonstration. In Aquinas' philosophy, knowledge is no longer to be accounted for by referring it to divine illumination. For Augustine the presence of God is central in philosophy, and the simple fact of understanding alone need be determined; if the question of error arises the power of the understanding is not placed under suspicion, but a distinction is needed: when one is deceived, one does not understand, and so either the thing is understood as it is or it is not understood. The Augustinian conclusions, therefore, are true enough for Thomas, but he goes further to analyze what the signs and the metaphysical implications of the distinction are. God may still be implicated in things, but questions of truth and error are of greater philosophic

[1] *Sum. Theol.*, Ia, t. III, q. 17 (Paris: Vivès, 1895, XXXI, 116). Cf. *ibid.* t. IV, q. 19, m. ii, p. 128.

importance and they suggest primarily logical and metaphysical considerations. The historical interpretation of Thomism can account for this change; it is without doubt the rediscovery of nature; the translation of the works of Aristotle doubtless made the reorientation possible; obviously the reform was prepared by the long discussion of the universal in which the twelfth century submitted extreme realism to criticism. Whatever its origin, however, the philosophic consequences of the change are sweeping.

Aquinas's pursuit of this further inquiry into logic and metaphysics came as the natural consequence to his doctrine. But the contrasts between the statement he gives of the problem and that of his predecessors are often striking. Thus, when he takes up the problem of the mutability of created truth in the sixth article of the first question on *Truth*, the first four contrary opinions are all quoted from Anselm. In these passages it appears, not so much that Anselm thought created truth was immutable, but that his chief concern was with an immutable truth. In his replies, Aquinas agrees with Anselm's doctrine; all truth is derived from the first truth, as well the truth in things as the truth in understanding. But in any particular judgment the problem is presented in the possibility that the truth of the understanding may not correspond to the truth of things. The problem is stated most clearly in its metaphysical formation: 'The thing existing without the soul,' Aquinas says, 'imitates by its form the art of the divine understanding, and it is constituted to make a true apprehension of itself in the human understanding by that same form by which it has its being; wherefore the truth of existing things includes in its reason the entity of things, and it super-adds the relation of adequation to the human or divine understanding.' [1]

The question of truth does not arise, then, from the the apprehension by the mind of a reality distinct from the mind. The determinations of each existent thing by which it has its being are intellectual as well as physical. It is the formal determination of the thing which the understanding seizes, and the form of the thing is not limited to the particular exemplification which any one thing

[1] Aquinas, *Quaest. disp. de Verit.*, cf. I, a. 8, *ad Resp.* (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XIV, 334).

affords. Our concepts represent abstract essences, not individuals, but that representation is no falsification of reality, since in the nature of things the unreceived form is unlimited: *forma irrecepta est illimitata*. Knowledge is possible because the thing which is known is, in a sense, other than itself. According to its immaterial being, in so far as it is not determined by matter, a thing is not only that which it is, but also in a certain manner something else. Consequently, although there can be no element in knowledge which has not previously been experienced sensibly, although it is the very nature of the understanding to be conformed to things, still the test of a true judgment is not in its reference to things. Not even sensations are tested by such a reference. 'It is not necessary, even though the sense were altered by sensible things, that the judgment of the sense be true according to the conditions of the sensible thing. For it is not necessary that the action of the agent be received in the patient according to the mode of the agent, but according to the mode of the patient or the recipient.' [1] Moreover, far from knowing the thing as it is, there is no intuition of material singulars; our intelligence renders everything it touches abstract. To insist on this alteration in knowing is no criticism of the origin of our knowledge but rather a flat identification of the data of the understanding with reality, for knowledge is not representation. There is no more question of the truth or falsity of the understanding in the apprehension of reality than there is of the senses, because the question, by this approach, is without meaning. 'The understanding is always true concerning essence, just as the sense is always true concerning its proper object. . . . There is no falsity in the understanding of simple quiddities because either they are not attained at all and we understand nothing concerning them, or else they are understood as they are.' [2] Significantly there is no reality to which the knowledge of things is to be referred, because such a reality would have to be a known reality, and essences as they enter the mind are the very nature of things in their intelligible expression.

[1] Aquinas, *In IV Meta.*, lect. 3 (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XXIV, 495–496).

[2] Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. lviii, a. 5, *ad Resp.* Cf. *Quaest. disp. de Verit.* q. I, a. 12, *ad Resp.* (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XIV, 340–341).

This difference of interpretation is at the bottom of the changes which Aquinas introduced into the Augustinian doctrine. Anselm was certain that reason could not exhaust the things of nature, and he was little concerned with the surety of the mind's knowledge of any particular things; but he was convinced that thinking penetrates the nature of things, and that the nature of things in general must be determined prior to the analysis of the parts, or of the sciences, of things. Aquinas denied the possibility of the enterprise. But beginning with the quiddities of things which are presented to the mind, he proposed to examine what can be determined of their interrelations and significances. Anselm's philosophy, consequently, although it is by no means incompatible with logical and scientific developments, might move satisfactorily to an ideal of contemplation. But even this beginning of Aquinas requires metaphysical development and logical justification.

The knowledge of essences which is in the simple uncompounded idea cannot be false, for the uncompounded idea contains no part and therefore implies no comparison. Truth is not in the quiddity which the understanding apprehends, for that apprehension is the ideal aspect of the thing which exists outside the soul. Of itself such knowledge cannot be right or wrong, any more than the image of the sensible thing which is received in sensation can be right or wrong, for in both there is only a single element and there can be no contradiction of that by itself. This is not to insist that the essential nature of the thing must of necessity present itself to the understanding, but it is a recognition rather that howsoever the thing present itself in knowledge that is one way of apprehending it; there is no question of truth until a comparison is made, and comparison is possible only between different things; therefore, truth is to be found only in the understanding and in the understanding only after the understanding has added something proper to itself. Truth is not in the apprehension of quiddities for they are formally identical with things, but in the activity of the understanding compounding and dividing. For then the understanding has added something proper to itself which is not to be found in things and which nevertheless may be compared to things. It follows, moreover, that the

nature of truth and the test of truth, the adequation of that understanding and the thing, require no reference beyond the mind that understands. 'Since indeed the truth of the understanding is the adequation of the understanding and thing by which the understanding says that that which is is or that that which is not is not, truth in the understanding pertains to that which the understanding says, not to the operation by which it says it. For the understanding does not require for truth that the act of understanding be adequated to the thing, since the thing is material and understanding immaterial, but that what the understanding says and knows in understanding be equated to the thing, that is, that it be in fact as the understanding says.' [1] It is not necessary that there be something beyond the soul to correspond to its truth since the truth of soul is entirely within it.

A term, then, or a simple idea is neither true nor false. But if the uncomplex essence is stated or defined in relation to another essence or if it is asserted to be present in a subject, questions of truth and falsity must be implicated in the judgment. Falsity may arise from the inconsistency which results from attaching a definition to a certain subject or from the inconsistencies involved in the definition or in a group of definitions. Of itself the idea, say, of a circle is neither true nor false; any given definition of it which involves no logical contradition is true; the application of the definition to any subject is true if no contradititon follows from the judgment which applies it. Even simples which seem to involve a contradiction are not really contradictory; the idea of a square circle is neither true nor false since it may be made the subject of a true statement such as: a square circle involves a logical contradiction. Truth, then, the correspondence of understanding and thing, is to be examined, not in a relation between our minds and things, but in a relation wholly within our minds.

Knowledge, nevertheless, is derived from experience, and the judgment of truth bears on relations among the elements furnished by experience. Experience informs the understanding with the matter of knowledge; still, as soon as understanding judges of the

[1] Aquinas, *Cont. Gent.*, I, 59.

matter of experience, it no longer suffers the action of things, but is, in a certain manner, active. This activity of the understanding includes all the processes which begin with sensation and terminate in the abstractions and judgments of the active intellect. To suppose that the truth of the final product of all that activity can be tested by referring to an object which is supposed to underlie and to be mirrored in sensation, would be to falsify the relation of form and matter; it would be to suppose that the intellect is in a world somehow unintelligible of itself and that the manipulation of the mind begins with elements somehow alien to it. Our ideas are not reflections which mirror things; on the contrary, ideas are things in so far as things enter knowledge; they are things objectified to our understanding. Truth is this intellectual reality; judgment is the expression of it, and no other metaphysical statement of it is adequate or possible than that its ideas are formally identical with the things which are known. The soul is in a certain sense all things, and knower and known are one more truly than are matter and form. What must be inquired into is not how the idea images the object, but how ideas have been put in relation in judgments, since it is there that truth or error may enter.

If it is true that Thomas Aquinas succeeded in setting up the autonomy of philosophy by insisting on the independent reality of nature, his insistence on the fundamental intelligibility of things is an aspect of his doctrine no less important to the reconstituted philosophy. In an intelligible world the mind is formed to handle concepts, and the concern of philosophy should not be an inquiry into the impossible relation of identical things and ideas; that relation is caught up in the operation of the understanding according to its own principles. If the understanding is to discover itself in conformity with things, it must be only by reflecting on its own acts. Such reflection, if it yield anything, must reveal the understanding as an active principle whose nature it is to be conformed to things. Its operations, moreover, must be seen to be according to principles proper to itself and discoverable only in those operations, not built on the habit of its experience of a world external to it. The first principle, that of contradiction, is not 'acquired by demonstration

nor in any similar manner, but it comes as if by the nature of the one possessing it, as if known naturally and not by acquisition. Indeed, first principles are made known by the natural light itself of the active intellect; they are not acquired by ratiocinations, but only by the fact that their terms are known. That occurs because memory is derived from sensibles, and experience from memory, and from experience the knowledge of terms, and when they are known, common propositions are known of such sort as the principles of the arts and sciences.'[1] This process is the activity of the active principle, and by knowledge of it or of its logical consequences, the truth of propositions may be tested.

In the problem of knowledge, the question clearly does not concern only the substance of our mind, nor, on the other hand, is our understanding the thing understood. But our mind has its proper operations, and by them it forms a kind of interior 'word' which is a likeness of the thing understood. Its relation to the knower is as an accident to its subject; but when it is compared to the thing known, it goes beyond the mind and its intention indicates something outside the mind. Intellectual substances, in so far as they know something placed beyond themselves, proceed in a certain manner outside themselves, but in so far as they know themselves knowing, they begin to return to themselves. The understanding has this self-knowledge as a consequence of judgment; by it the comparison is possible by which the distinction of true and false is possible; it is the basis of metaphysics. The senses have no such knowledge of self and, therefore, there is no comparison in them of their representation with the thing perceived. But intellectual substances by reason of their greater perfection return to their essences with a complete return. Thomas Aquinas quotes from the *Liber de Causis* to enforce the conclusion that a thing returns to its essence when it knows its essence.

God is present to illuminate the mind in this system as he was in the philosophy of Anselm, and all truths are still derived from one truth. But thinking is no longer itself sufficient to indicate the existence and nature of God. The Augustinian tradition had come early

[1] Aquinas *In IV Meta.*, lect. 2 (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XXIV, 476).

to the insistence that the *a priori* proof, proceeding as it does from cause to effect, is the surest mode of demonstration; the nature of God must be known first; all other truths depend upon it and all sciences are trustworthy only as they are ordered to the knowledge of God; the nature of things in general must be determined before the nature of anything may be investigated. Aquinas agrees that the *a priori* proof is surer, but he insists that it is impossible to proceed from the nature of God to his effects because the nature of God is not known. Far from illuminating his effects we know him only through his effects. With this reorientation, all the formulae of the *sapientia christiana* may be repeated, but their significance has changed. Truth is to state that that which is is and that that which is not is not; it is the indivision of being and essence. For Augustine these formulae are true because God exists and they are themselves compelling documents of his existence. For Aquinas they call up only the consideration that man is possessed of an intellect in a formally intelligible universe. Although God is in the background, the adequation of understanding and thing must be explained by the transcendental psychology of the active intellect, and it is to be recognized in the manipulation of concepts according to primitive principles.

But the Thomist reform, even if it be considered the beginning of modern philosophy, was by no means its final or determining attitude. The Augustinian and Thomist conceptions of truth stand in sharper outline against the position which in varying forms largely superseded them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The criticisms to which the Averroïsts, Duns Scotus, Ockham, and the followers of Ockham in turn submit the philosophy of their predecessors reduced to mere probabilities, one by one, the most definite certainties of the schools. Duns Scotus had insisted that the knowledge of God, the immortality of the soul, and the whole series of related theses be relegated as probable knowledge to theology, and theology became for him a source of rules of action and therefore a practical, not a speculative, science. Before the end of the fourteenth century Aristotelian scholasticism had been forced to a dissolution by criticisms directly in line with the criticisms it had initiated. The ma-

terials of knowledge come from experience, the ordering of knowledge from the mind: but what authenticated information do the senses afford? what are the principles of understanding and their certainty? In large part the writings of the Ockhamites of the fourteenth century read as if they were dictated by cautions learned from the experimental sciences and from critical philosophy.

Thus, one of the few surviving writings of Nicholas of Autrecourt expresses amazement that Bernard of Arezzo should hold that clear intuitive knowledge may judge a thing to be whether it is or not.[1] Bernard seems by Nicholas' specifications to be a contemporary Thomist, for it is among the Thomist principles that a true idea does not necessitate the existence of something corresponding to it outside the mind. In the view of Nicholas all knowledge is reduced to uncertainty by such a position; one can be sure of nothing, not of the objects of one's senses, or of one's own acts, or finally even of the articles of faith. He chooses to avoid such absurdities by maintaining that he is certain of the objects of his five senses and of his own acts. But in a second letter addressed to the same Bernard,[2] probably in reply to a lost letter, he expresses even greater amazement that Bernard should imagine that he has evident knowledge of abstract substances. No one, not even Aristotle, had evident knowledge of abstract substance. In fact, for that reason there are not more than one or two conclusions from evident knowledge in the *Metaphysics;* and for the same reason the third book *de Anima* should never have been written. In their examination of the bounds of knowledge there is only one principle on which Nicholas and Bernard can agree, the principle of contradiction: it is impossible that something both be present and not be present in the same thing at the same time: contradictories cannot at the same time be true. On that principle Nicholas bases all certitude; certitude founded on it is absolute; all certitude is to be resolved to it and consequently there are no degrees of certitude, for all certitude except only faith, can be reduced to the first principle.

[1] Nicholas of Autrecourt, *Epistola ad Bernardum* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* VI [1908], ii, 2*).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 6*.

But this analysis may be applied, not only to substance, but to other common notions of metaphysics, to causality, God, the external world. The relation of causation presents no necessary or evident consequence, for the principle of contradiction does not permit us to conclude from one thing which is known to be, that some other thing is. A causal relation is at most only probable, and past experience alone authorizes the affirmation of such a relation. The idea of substance, moreover, is a particular case of causality. It is not valid to infer from physical properties or psychical operations a material or spiritual substance in which those properties or operations inhere. Substances so concluded are not even probable consequences, for there is no past experience on which to base them. And, of course, the conventional proofs of God fall by this criticism. The existence of a first cause is no more probable than that of a substance, and if we are to believe the document in which Nicholas' errors were condemned by the Masters of the University of Paris, he carried his criticism to the logical extent of insisting that the proposition, God exists, and the proposition, God does not exist, are two ways of expressing the same truth.[1] We have only two sources of certainties: direct apprehension and syllogisms reducible to the first principle. Only individuals exist outside the mind, and the criticism which establishes their separate existence clears metaphysics of all the entities consequent to Aquinas' analysis: God, the Soul, the active intellect, substantial species and even things cannot be known certainly. What had been the subject-matter of metaphysics is transferred either to faith or to the probable knowledge which falls in the disciplines based on experience.

This fundamental attitude is repeated in the works of the numerous followers of Ockham in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There were still recognizable Augustinians, but the uncritical confidences of Augustine and Anselm had been left far behind. Aquinas could usually reconcile Anselm's position with his own, by the device of pointing out that Anselm was speaking of the truth which is an

[1] Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, II, 580 (Paris, 1891). J. Lappe, 'Nicholaus von Autrecourt' (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Phil. des M. A.*, VI [1908], ii, 37*, l. 14–15).

adequation of the thing to the divine understanding and not of the truth which is an adequation of it to the human understanding. But apart from the partial nature of his philosophy Aquinas seems to have objected only to Anselm's attempt to pass directly from thought to a conclusion of existence. Cardinal Peter d'Ailly completely rejects the argument of the 'Venerable Anselm, because his arguments are not demonstrable, but are purely sophistic and faulty in logic, and because of that defect in logic this devout man was often deceived, not only in this place but in other passages.'[1] For Peter d'Ailly, as for Nicholas of Autrecourt, individuals alone exist, and ideas of universals are nothing, unless perhaps they can be called things, existing simply in the mind, common to things without the mind, and universal by predication. Certainty is based either on evidence or on faith, and evidence is of two sorts: *absolute evidence* which is evidence of the first principle or reducible to it, and *conditioned evidence* or evidence *secundum quid* which is the evidence our inquiry uncovers of whatever is according to the first type of evidence. Absolute knowledge is limited, therefore, to purely formal knowledge. All intellectual knowledge of things is derived from and depends on sensitive knowledge of the same things, and since our experimental knowledge begins with an intuitive presentation, it must always be conditioned and probable. But a statement of the Ockhamite currents of this period would be incomplete if the philosophic disputes were not balanced by the scientific interests. D'Ailly's doctrine of knowledge is not unconnected with the attitude of mind which turned him to the sciences; he was a noted geographer, astronomer, and astrologist; Christopher Columbus wrote that he had found the confirmation of his idea of sailing west to arrive at the Indies in the *Imago Mundi* of d'Ailly; Amerigo Vespucci was influenced by d'Ailly's commentary on the *Meteors* of Aristotle; a French Revolution is predicted in the sixtieth chapter of the *Concordia astronomiae cum historica ueritate* to occur 375 years later, in the year 1789. D'Ailly had insisted, in line with his criticism of substance, that the division of the soul into faculties was without evidence, since a single power might have many operations; his

[1] D'Ailly, *Quaest. in Sent.*, q. iii, a. 1.

interest in the soul turned, therefore (doubtless in a tradition continuing from Chartres through Oxford), to the localization of the functions and the discovery of the organs of the understanding. He wrote, finally, on the principles of ecclesiastical and political organization to such effect that Luther acknowledged his authority and boasted that he knew the works of Cardinal d'Ailly by heart. The Aristotelian scrutiny which Aquinas turned on the world had given away to empirical and positivistic inquiries long before the seventeenth century had formulated its philosophy and program of science. But even more significant, the Thomist doctrine and criteria of knowledge had yielded before further investigation of the exigencies of rational demonstration, and new criteria had emerged. The critical cautions made necessary by the inquiries of the fourteenth century make clear the careful Augustinian statements of the *De Causa Dei* of Bradwardine and the more elaborate formulation of a supra-rational field of intellectual intuition of the *De Docta Ignorantia* of Nicholas of Cusa; and, further removed, even the materialism and empiricism of Telesio and the modifications of them in Campanella are more fully conceived solutions to these post-Thomist difficulties.

Into this historical and intellectual environment the Thomist reform of the doctrine of knowledge must be fitted. If Aquinas is to be conceived as the beginning of purely philosophical tradition, then philosophy begins by a reaction away from the tenets of Platonism and Augustinism. It is not difficult to recognize that Aquinas' researches are concerned, more than those of his predecessors, with problems which were to become traditional in later philosophy. But there should be some hesitance before it is insisted that a philosophical inquiry is more philosophic if it treats of the passions of the soul or the nature of the understanding than if it treats of the attributes of God or the relations of angels to each other. If the study of logistics and the analysis of the continuum contribute to philosophy, perhaps the study of angels may be made to take on a like importance. In any case the statement that Aquinas gave reason a content of its own and nature a reality of its own, is not difficult to understand, though it is a little confusing if the history of philo-

sophical development is considered. It is in part a statement concerning subject-matter, and in that respect it is relevant that, for what concerns the philosophy of knowledge, no product of the human spirit, not even theology, is totally unrelated to the nature of things. It is partly a statement concerning method, and surely recent investigations concerning postulates and their relations to their systems would place the certainty of the postulates of mathematics on a basis no surer than that of the postulates of theology. The beginning of modern thought is somewhat arbitrary if it is to be dated at the point at which a man chose to take his axioms from Book IV of the *Metaphysics* and Book III of the *De Anima* of Aristotle rather than from the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Scepticism is no surer a beginning for philosophy than faith, provided only the postulates of the faith are clear; and faith seeking its understanding may engage the philosopher with as much propriety as understanding seeking itself. To see in Thomism the beginnings of philosophy is to deny the name philosophy to much of Neo-Platonism.

Or it may be only that the attitude of the Academics to profess scepticism in all questions until persuaded by sufficient reason to forsake it, is better suited to modern predilections. Certainly Thomism was to be followed rapidly by an academic scepticism with its accompaniment of experimental and empirical interests. But these, once more, are the paradoxes of the history of thought, and that they occur is the consequence, partly at least, of the circumstances, inconvenient enough to the historian, that systems of thought are seldom refuted by the systems which supersede them. It would require no great ingenuity to demonstrate that the philosophies of Augustine and Anselm, however greatly they differ in development, involve many of the fundamental suppositions of those of Bradwardine, Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz, nor would much scholarship be needed to show that many of the crucial arguments are to be found, even when they were not clearly carried over, repeated. There is a tendency in modern criticism, however, to reach over the intervening periods to centre admiration on the nominalistic development of late scholasticism. To call Nicholas of Oresme a precursor of Copernicus, to call Peter d'Ailly a mediaeval

Berkeley and Malebranche, and Nicholas of Autrecourt a Hume and a Bradley [1] is, in that tradition, to speak eulogistically; it is not difficult to conceive the tradition in which the reverse might be true.

The philosophic affinities in the flow of history are too strangely mixed to permit over-simple divisions into periods, or to justify discoveries of affinities, if the fundamental metaphysical postulates of systems be considered: Thomas Aquinas turned in the thirteenth century from a Platonist rationalism; the modern revolt of the seventeenth century against scholasticism was a reaction from empiricism to rationalism; and, to tighten the paradox, after Spinoza and Descartes had criticized the imagination and had turned from the insufficiencies of knowledge based on sensation to the certainties of reason, the eighteenth century came with Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, the Encyclopaedists to call these metaphysical solutions vain imaginations and to turn from them to the certainties of reason. It would be difficult, on any criterion other than that of subject-matter, to know if Aquinas is the beginning of modern philosophy since Augustine may be made to father much of the seventeenth century, and the fourteenth century initiated critical tendencies much like those which grew out of the philosophy of Hume. A philosophic study of the development of philosophies should be content to seek out the bases and cogencies of philosophies rather than engage upon a nostalgic search for sympathetic doctrines, for the shifts and alterations of the subject of philosophic inquiry suggest, not that we are coming after centuries of inquiry to the truth and that we have at last left the false, but that the philosopher, like the poet and the scientist, takes for his subject what he will.

[1] P. Duhem, 'Un Precurseur Français de Copernic: Nicole Oresme (1377),' *Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées* XX (1909), 866–873; H. Rashdall, 'Nicholas de Ultricuria, a Medieval Hume,' *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, New Ser., VIII (1907), 1–27; L. Salembier, *Petrus ab Alliaco* (Lille: Lefort, 1886), pp. 150, 161, 163, etc.

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THE *SPECULUM VIRGINUM* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TREE OF JESSE

By ARTHUR WATSON

THE twelfth-century Latin manuscript *Arundel 44* in the British Museum is entitled *Speculum Virginum*. The *Epistola* begins as follows: *Vltimus Christi pauperum C uirginibus sacris N et N. Gaudium assequi beatę perennitatis.*

At the beginning, the virtue of humility is assumed in the word *Vltimus;* and humility is indeed the root of all the virtues, as pride is of the vices. This the author expounds in Chapter iv, and his teaching is exemplified graphically by representations of two trees (fol. 28v and 29r) having respectively *Superbia* and *Humilitas* at the root. Poverty was the lot of the follower of Christ, a concomitant of holiness. The writer himself says (fol. 90r): *Sancti omnes Christi aduentum precedentes uel subsequentes semper peregrini et pauperes fuerunt.*

The letter *N* occurs in the Middle Ages in place of a relevant name to be supplied on each occasion.[1]

The letter *C* is probably the initial letter of the real name of the author. The work is in the form of a dialogue, and the writer, who was a Benedictine, goes by the name of Peregrinus while the *uirgo Christi* with whom he confers is Theodora. If the writer of this *Speculum* was received into the monastery as a *peregrinus* under a provision of the Benedictine order,[2] it would not have been unnatural for him to assume this name in the dialogue. There is a

[1] Cf. e.g. the following in the order for the consecration of virgins from a MS. of the Monastery of St Victor, Paris, quoted by E. Martène, *De Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus* (Bassano, 1788), II, 192: *Te inuocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, super hanc famulam N quę tibi uouit seruire pura mente. . . .*

[2] Nec magnopere tamen uel cognatorum uel amicorum presentiam querendam putetis, q^{a} Christum sponsum uestrum fratuelem uestrum in corde geritis, in quo et per quem omnia possidetis. . . . Verum quia amor nunquam ociosus est, misi uobis libellum, quoddam mutui amoris insigne; in quo mentem exerceatis, ad sponsi ęterni gloriam proficiatis, minusque de absentia nostra doleatis. Intitulatur autem idem opusculum, speculum uirginum, in quo peregrinus presbyter cum Theodora Christi uirgine tanta contulisse probatur ut studiosis Christi uirginibus sit in eo magnum conservandę castitatis incitamentum.

further possible alternative or additional reason for assuming this name, viz., that it is expressive of a state. *In peregrinatione sumus* the writer says (fol. 95v), and Christ himself was likened to a *peregrinus* (fol. 47v). There was therefore an odor of sanctity about the word. The *Epistola* not only summarizes the contents of the book. It has also a personal character. The writer wished those to whom he was sending his *Speculum Virginum* to take it as a token of affection and to grieve the less for his absence. It appears from this that he did not always remain in the same monastery.[1] Internal evidence points to the writer's having belonged to the Benedictine order.[2] With reference to the formidable ladder which virgins must struggle to climb (the subject of chapter ix) Peregrinus says: *Nonne et huiusmodi scale formam a sancto pastore nostro Benedicto habes traditam, cuius obseruare contendis regulam?* (fol. 93r). That the monastery was at Hirschau in Germany appears to be generally accepted. The authorship was ascribed by Trithemius (1462–1516) to one of the name of Conrad; but he does not quote any authority, and his statement has met with vehement opposition (see Appendix B, p. 467, below).

The *Speculum Virginum* is one of many works of exposition under the title of *Speculum*. What Peregrinus understood by the term *speculum* he himself explains. Maidens look into mirrors, he says, to see whether there is any increase or decrease of their adornment, but Scripture is a mirror from which they may learn how they can please the eternal spouse. In this mirror they can find themselves and understand what they ought to do and what to avoid.[3] Towards

[1] See Johannes de Turre Cremata, *Regula S. P. Benedicti* (Cologne, 1575), p. 29, Cap. lxi, *De monarchis peregrinis, qualiter suscipiantur. Patr. Lat.* LXVI, 853.

[2] Attention is drawn to this evidence by Robert Geete on p. iii of his Introduction to the fifteenth-century Swedish translation of the *Speculum Virginum*, cited p. 448, n. 1, below.

[3] 'Specula uirgines oculis suis applicant, ut ornatus sui uel augmentum uel detrimentum intelligant . . . Sunt enim specula mulierum, eloquia diuina uisibus obiecta sanctarum animarum in quibus semper considerant quomodo sponso ęterno aut placeant decore sanctę conscientię aut displiceant peccati feditate' (fol. 1v). . . . 'Speculum itaque scripturę sacrę pagina, uerbi domini efficatia est, cuius pure ueritatis perspicuitas profundę rationis, mentes studiosorum sic illuminat, ut ibi se recognoscant ubi, se in se ipsis uidere non poterant. Scripturam igitur diuinam si quasi speculum attenderis te ipsam repperis et ex ipsa quid agendum sit intelligis' (fol. 36v). Theodora says (fol. 28r): 'Speculum enim uirginibus Christi proposuisti unde uel uitanda uel imitanda possint speculari.'

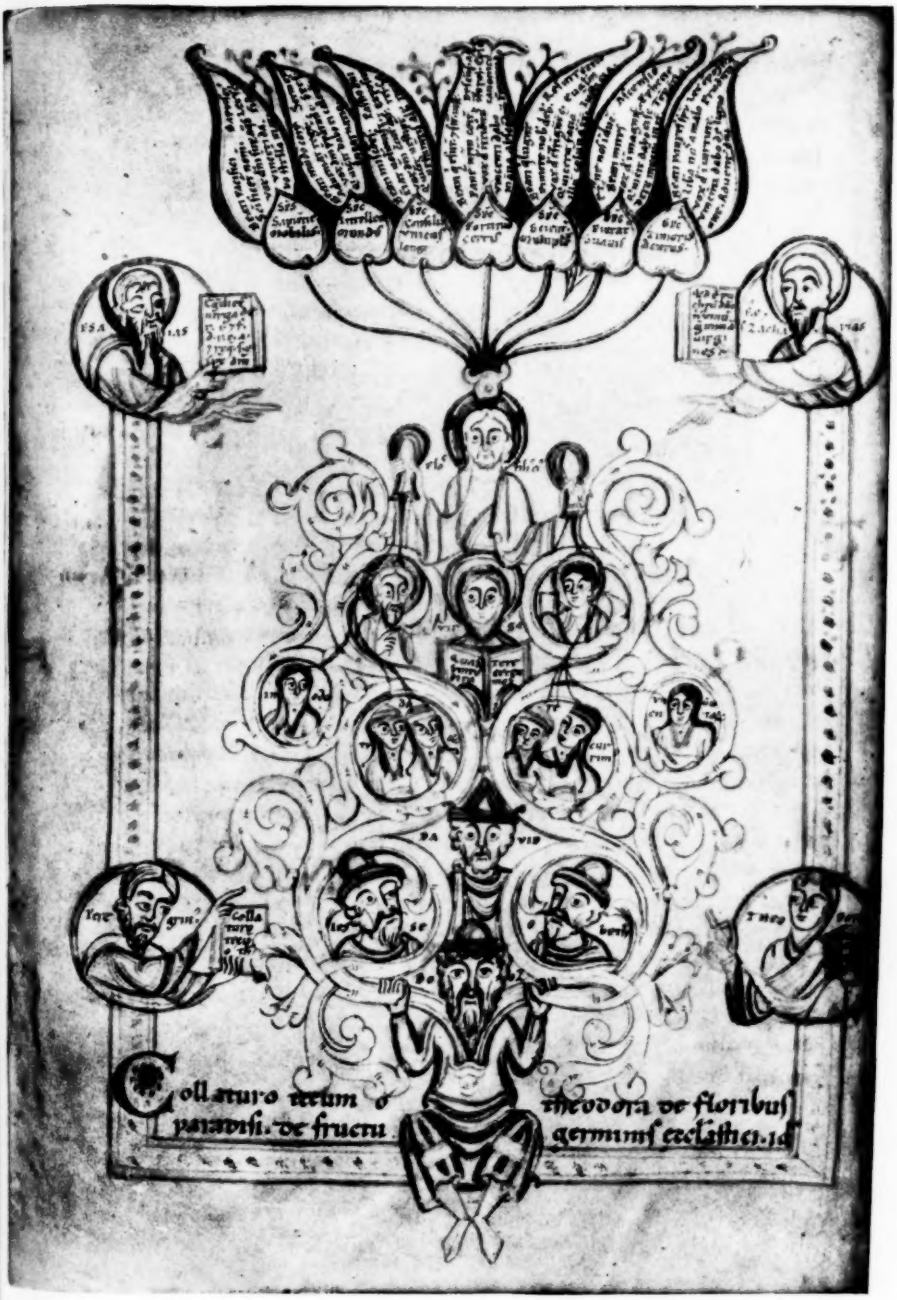

PLATE I

THE TREE OF JESSE

British Museum *MS. Arundel* 44, fol. 2v

the end of the work Peregrinus bursts out with the fervent hope that this *Speculum* may be broad enough to satisfy Theodora's need for instruction.[1]

Inasmuch as variety in reading is pleasant and a treatise which is uniform and unbroken weakens and burdens the attention of the reader, Peregrinus has divided his work into twelve chapters so that the *uirgo Christi*, eager for the divine word, may wander through fields joined one with another, delight in the varied flowers, in a mystic sense, and glory in weaving for herself a crown of many colors.[2]

The twelve chapters deal with: (1) the mystic flowers of Paradise, the form of Paradise with its four rivers, typifying the four evangelists and doctors making fertile the whole church by their word and example; (2) the danger of going astray; (3) the mystic signification of the virgin's dress; (4) pride and humility; (5) (*a*) the chief of virgins, Mary, with her Son, and John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, the four being likened to a *quadriga* by which virgins who have merited the reward may be borne to heaven, (*b*) the good and bad teachers (*magistri*) of virgins; (6) the foolish and wise virgins; (7) the three grades of married women, widows, and virgins, with their respective thirty, sixty, and hundredfold fruits;[3] (8) the fruit of the flesh and of the spirit, the six ages of the world; (9) the ascent by virgins of a ladder guarded by a dragon and an Ethiopian whom the virgins can overcome by courage and win the sought-for crown; (10) the *actio gratiarum;* (11) exposition of the Gifts of the Spirit (*septiformis spiritus*) and the *uirtus* and *potentia* of the number seven; and (12) the exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

[1] Outinam tuis studiis sufficeret tandem speculi huius latitudo (fol. 114r).

[2] Denique quia lectio uaria delectat, tractus uniformis et continuus legentis intentionem emollit et grauat, opusculum idem in partes duodenas distinxi, ut dum uirgo Christi uerbi diuini auida quasi per prata coniuncta discurrens, floribus diuersis, id est sensibus misticis delectatur, coronam multicolorem capiti suo de uerbo dei texere glorietur (fol. 2r).

[3] This is a special application of what has general application in the parable of the Sower (Matth., xiii, 8). Cf. Aldhelm, *De Laudibus Virginitatis* (Prose, cap. xix, ed. R. Ehwald, *M. G. H., Auct. Antiq*, XV, 1919, 249): His igitur tribus graduum ordinibus, quibus credentium multitudo in catholica florens ecclesia discernitur, euangelicum paradigma centesimum, sexagesimum et tricesimum fructum iuxta meritorum mercimoniam spopondit.

Finally, there is an *Epithalamium*.[1] The *Epithalamium* is missing in the British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*.

The illustrations in the British Museum MS. are as follows:

1 (fol. 2v). A Tree of Jesse which will be described later (Plate I).

2 (fol. 13r). The mystic form of Paradise (Plate II). In the centre is the Virgin holding Christ (cross-nimbed) with an open book on which is written, *Si quis sitit, ueniat et bibat* (*John* vii, 37). Between the centre and the circumference are represented streams connected with full-length horned figures of the four rivers of Paradise. Each river-figure touches with his hands two medallions within which are (*a*) a symbol of an evangelist and (*b*) one of the *doctores ecclesiastici*. Streams connect the medallions with the centre. On the circumference in each case between a *doctor* and an evangelist are medallions each containing a representation of one of the virtues which are at the summits of trees rising from the centre. The subjects on the circumference are in the following order, John, Tigris, Augustine, Justice, Mark, Geon, Gregory, Fortitude, Matthew, Eufrates, Jerome, Temperance, Luke, Phison, Ambrose, Prudence. Twelve virgins, likened to doves settling beside abounding streams, are shown, all of whom drink from two fountain sources, the Evangelists and the Father (*doctores ecclesiastici*). Eight of these virgins represent the Beatitudes, and four represent the Cardinal Virtues. The Beatitudes and Virtues comprise all spiritual knowledge.[2]

[1] The text of this *Epithalamium* (an acrostic of 258 lines in praise of the Virgin), from the MS. in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, *MS. Phill. 1701*, is quoted in a volume entitled *Speculum Virginum: Jungfruspegel* (a translation into Swedish from the Latin by Mathias Laurentii) edited by Robert Geete and published by the *Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet*, Stockholm, 1897, 1898, Vols. 111, 113, 115, pp. 609–616.

The *Epithalamium* is also quoted in an article by G. M. Dreves on 'Konrads von Hirschau doppelchoriges Epithalamium virginum' in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* XXV (1901), 546–554, and is printed in parallel columns, for two choirs, the form in which he found it in the Würzburg MS.

[2] Verum licet in omni pictura uel artificio ratio prestet operi, et sit maior qui facit quam quod facit, uolo tamen quendam paradisum speculatorium pre oculis tibi in pictura ponere, ubi fons cum suis fluminibus quadripartito meatu procurrentibus sed intelligibilibus, pocula sumministrent sacris uirginibus, quasi columbis iuxta fluenta plenissima residentibus, sicque siue de fontibus euangelicis seu doctrinis ęcclesiasticis bibant, ut octo beatitudines cum 1111or uirtutibus principalibus in quibus omnis spiritualis disciplinae ratio consistit, imitari ualeant (fol. 13r).

PLATE II

THE MYSTIC FORM OF PARADISE

British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*, fol. 13r

The representation of the Beatitudes, a group of eight, is extraordinary in this connection. So also is the association of the Fathers with the Evangelists. Emile Mâle in *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age*, 1922, p. 224, assigns the origin of this association to a later date than the twelfth century: 'Le XV^e^ siècle même,' he says, 'mit en honneur une opposition d'un nouveau genre. Il mit en parallèle les quatre évangélistes, non plus avec les quatre grands prophètes, comme faisait le XIII^e^ siècle, mais avec les quatre Pères de l'Eglise latine: saint Augustin, saint Jérôme, saint Ambroise, saint Grégoire le Grand.' In a footnote is added: 'Ce genre d'opposition apparaît dès le XIV^e^ siècle, à l'autel de Notre-Dame d'Avioth.'

3 (fol. 28v). The Vices, represented by a tree with *Superbia* at the foot holding a chalice, the words written across the page being *Aureus calyx Babilon*. Branches right and left divide the Vices which spring from *Superbia* into an elaborate classification and sevenfold grouping, *Luxuria*, however, having two sub-divisions of six each. Near the top is *Luxuria*, with folded arms, above whom are the words *uetus adam*. The leaves on which the names of Vices are written, except those which take their rise from *Luxuria*, droop. *Fructus iste descendit* is written across the page. Around the main stem two serpents are twined and venom issues from their mouths. Across the page are the words *Sinistra* and *Babilonia*. Near the top are two griffins, above which is written *Fructus carnis*. There are in all 62 Vices.

4 (fol. 29r). The Virtues, represented by a tree with *Humilitas* at the foot, from whose breast issue two branches; there are two *angeli pacis*, one on each side of her. There is here, as in the preceding illustration, an elaborate classification. The Virtues have a sevenfold grouping, *Caritas* exceptionally having two subdivisions of five each. The leaves point upwards, *Iste ascendit*. Christ is at the top and beneath him the word *Caritas*. In four syllables around His nimbus are the words *Nouus adam*. Corresponding with words in the representation of the Vices appear the words *Dextera*, *Ierusalem* and *Fructus spiritus*. The color blue, absent in the pre-

ceding illustration, is introduced in the representation of the Virtues. The number of Virtues is 60.[1]

5 (fol. 34v). The contest between *Humilitas* and *Superbia*. In the middle *Humilitas* with unconcern is driving a sword perpendicularly into the body of *Superbia*. To her right *Iahel* has *Sisara Dux Madianitarum* at her feet with a nail through his right temple. To the left of *Humilitas* is *Iudith* with *Olafernes* at her feet.[2] Both Sisera and Holofernes have crowns like that of David in the Tree of Jesse (see Plate I).

6 (fol. 46r). The *quadriga*. In the middle is the Virgin standing full length with her feet on a wheel and holding the infant Christ whose feet also rest on a wheel. To the Virgin's right is St John the Baptist, bearded, with nimbus, and with shaggy clothing; on her left St John the Evangelist, these two also having wheels beneath their feet. These four figures, as has been noted, are likened in the text to a *quadriga*.[3] They are all nimbed. At the top are two angels (nimbed) each holding an open book. The following are the inscriptions thereon:

(*a*) Stella gerit solem, rosa fert tibi credule florem
Clarus ut ex sole repareris floris odore.

(*b*) Tempore iam uerno uiret orbis flore quaterno
Flos ut homo uitę sit gramen amando pudicę.

7 (fol. 57v). The Foolish and Wise Virgins (Plate III). This illustration is divided horizontally into three parts. In the lowest

[1] In R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden: C. C. Meinhold und Söhne, 1906), pp. 88, 89, are reproductions from a Leipzig MS. of the thirteenth century, entitled *Definitiones Viciorum*, which have a marked similarity in general appearance to the trees of Vices and Virtues in the *Speculum Virginum*.

[2] For reproduction of corresponding subject in the Berlin *MS. Phill. 1701* see A. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1906), II, i, 301, and for reproduction of the same subject in the Zwettl MS. 180, see E. Winkler, *Die Buchmalerei in Niederösterreich von 1150–1250* (Vienna, 1923), Fig. 53.

[3] *Vere felices animę*, writes Peregrinus beneath the illustration, *quę quadrigę huius exemplo a terra subleuantur et tam florido thalamo inter angelos posito collocantur. Felices ęque uirgines quę horum florum odore trahuntur, et rotas istas quantum possible est imitantur* (fol. 46r). And Theodora is made to say appreciatively, *Pulchre rotas baptistam et euangetistam uirgini matri et agno precedentibus coniunxisti; quorum omnium castitatis exemplo nihil maius nihil prestantius inuenisti.*

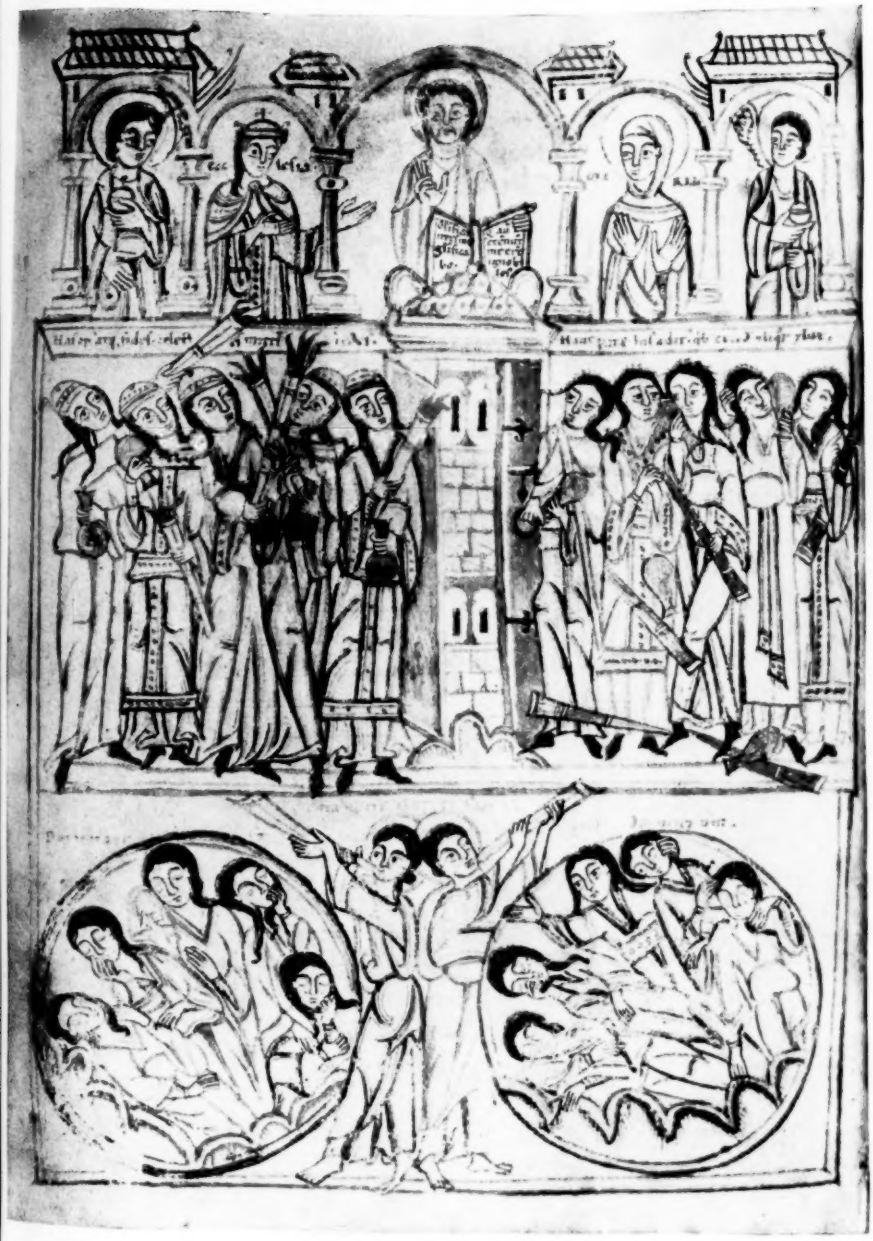

PLATE III

THE FOOLISH AND WISE VIRGINS

British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*, fol. 57v

are 10 virgins, 5 on the left and 5 on the right. Between the two groups of 5 are two nimbed figures holding horns in their hands and above are the words *media nocte clamor factus est* and across the page *Dormitauerunt omnes et dormiuerunt* (*Matth.* xxv, 6, 5).

In the middle division are, on the left, the 5 wise virgins for whom the door is open and on the right the 5 foolish virgins in distress with dishevelled hair, one of whom is in vain trying a door. Above the wise virgins is written *Has opus atque fides celestes mittit in edes*, above the foolish, *Haut patet his aditus quibus excidit et liquor et lux.*

The third division contains a design with five semicircular arches, in the second of which is a nimbed figure representing *ecclesia*, in the third Christ (nimbed) with an open book on which is written *Glorificantes me glorificabo. Qui autem contemnunt me erunt ignobiles* (*1 Samuel* ii, 30), in the fourth Mary nimbed, and in the first and fifth nimbed figures.[1]

8 (fol. 70r). This illustration is in three divisions. At the top are the words *accipio quodcunque peregrinationis et molestie mee solatium a peregrino.* At the foot are *Adam et Eua* above whom the green tree springs with figures enclosed in the convolutions of the branches as in the first illustration, the Tree of Jesse (see Plate I). The lowest division represents the *Fructus tricesimus coniugatorum*, the second the *Fructus sexagesimus uiduarum*, and the highest the *Fructus centesimus* (see Plate I, above). In the lowest are represented on the left *Ab* (Abraham) and his wife, *Za et El* (Zacharias and Elizabeth) and on the right *Noe* and his wife, and *Iob* and his wife. In the second division are on the left *Debbora* and *Iudith* and on the right *uidua q' duo minuta misit in gazophylacium* (*Mark* xii, 41, 42) and *Anna*. In the highest division are virgins and at the top Christ, cross-nimbed. The *fructus* is represented by blades of corn. In the highest division those at the top are blue and green in contrast with dull red beneath.

9 (fol. 83v). The flesh and the spirit. A Cross is represented divided into compartments. At the bottom is a monster and above

[1] For reproduction of corresponding illustration in the Berlin *MS. Phill. 1701*, see Joachim Kirchner, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Phillipps-Handschriften* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1926), opposite p. 66.

it the words *Deceptor ueteranus*. In the second compartment a figure representing *lex* with a sword in her right hand and in her left a book on which is written *non concupisces;* above, a figure against which are the words *Caro Bonum;* still higher, a figure with the words *Spiritus melius;* and at the top Christ, cross-nimbed, with blue robe and blue nimbus, against whom are the words *Gratia* and *Deus optimum*. On the arms of the cross are, left, *Ratio*, and right, *Sapientia;* between these two are the words *Liberum arbitrium*. *Ratio* and *Sapientia* each grasp one arm of *Caro* and one arm of *Spiritus*. Christ holds the arms of *Spiritus*. Beginning in the highest compartment, continuing in a circle around Christ, and ending with *ris illius*, in the highest compartment but one is written *Infeliz ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius* (*Rom.* vii, 24) and *Sub te erit appetitus eius et tu dominaberis illius* (*Gen.* iv, 7).

10 (fol. 93v). The Ascent of the Ladder (Plate IV).[1] The meaning of this illustration is described in the text.[2] The bottom of the

[1] For similar subject see Herrad von Landsperg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (Paris, 1877), Tab. ix; this volume contains reproductions from miniatures of the twelfth century in the manuscript which was destroyed in the fire of 1870 at the Strassburg Library. There is no Ethiopian, but there is a dragon at the foot, and towards the top two demons aiming arrows in the direction of the ladder. On the ladder are included a soldier, a layman, and a monk, who are falling off. At the top a *persona* representing *Virtus id est Caritas* is about to receive from the right hand of God the *Corona uitę*.

[2] Fol. 93r. [Peregrinus] Denique scala nobis erigenda est cuius ima draco cautus obseruat, ethiops altiora stricto mucrone possidens arcet ascensum, et ad iuuenem in summitate ipsius scalę collocatum habentem ramos aureolos, premiorum indices accessum. Sed uirginum Christi robur et constantia fidei instar uermis draconem conculcat tormenta diuersa scalę latera ambientia quasi stipulam exsufflat, nigrum ethiopem perterit et perculcat, et immobili nec mutabili desiderio, ad ramos frondentis oleę propęrat. T[heodora] Memini, pater amandę te nonnulla scalę huius uestigia, pagine superius impressisse, sed quid ista portendant studeas obsecro enucleare. P[eregrinus] An ignoras artam et angustam esse semitam quę ducit ad uitam, et paucos esse qui inueniunt eam? Quę semita, quia semper celestia respicit, et ab ea declinare uel ad dexteram uel sinistram non parui periculi est, cui melius potest compari quam scalę de terra ad celum erectę, cuius ut altiores gradus apprehenderis respectus ad ima in recuperandi discriminis est, summa uero attigisse lauream ęternitatis promeruisse est? Porro draconis et ethiopis sicut natura diuersa sic diuersa malicię efficatia. Draco hominem ueneno interficit, ethiops facie forma demonis appropriantem non tam mucrone quam horrore confodit. Ex altero spiritualia nequicię cognosce, in altero corpus diaboli quod sanctos in hac uita semper impugnat intellige. Draco uersutus mentem quasi spiris uirulentis suggestione pestifera ab altis auertit, malus homo, sanctis hostis apertius imissus, quod alter sibilo illectrici non ualuit, uicarius eius uel terrore uel aperto congressu efficere gestit.

T. Queso te, unde forma scalę huius primum apparuit, cuius misticus ordo tam euidentur eluxit? P. Legitur in gestis martirum de quadam uirgine Christi incarcerata scalę huiusmodi

PLATE IV

THE ASCENT OF A LADDER

British Museum *MS. Arundel* 44, fol. 93v

ladder is watched by a wary dragon while above an Ethiopian guards the ascent and tries to prevent access to the figure of Christ, who holds in His hands golden branches, the signs of reward. But by strength and steadfastness the virgins are able to crush the dragon underfoot like a worm, to blow away like grass the various instruments of torment[1] placed about the ladder, to pound the Ethiopian to pieces and trample him down and make their way to the leafy olive branches. In response to Theodora's request that he should give some further enucleation Peregrinus asks her if she has not heard that 'straight is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life and few there be that find it' (*Matth.* vii, 10), and to what could the path better be compared than to a ladder set up from earth to heaven, to reach the top of which was to merit the reward of eternal life. As the dragon and Ethiopian, he continues, are different by nature so are the operations of their evil will. The dragon kills a man by his poison, the Ethiopian slays him not only by the sword but also by terror. The former stands for the spirit of wickedness, the latter for the body of the devil. The crafty dragon turns the mind away from higher things, the Ethiopian by terror and open attack effects what the dragon cannot effect by fascination.

When Theodora asks what was the origin of the ladder Peregrinus says that it might be found in the Acts of the Martyrs, in the vision of a certain *Virgo Christi*, and he refers to a ladder which he assumes she will know, namely, St Benedict's ladder of Humility, the subject of Chapter vii (*De Humilitate*) of the *Regula*.[2]

The author has thus made clearer the meaning of this picture, but he has, nevertheless, left room for further elucidation. Fortu-

figuram in somnis ab angelo didicisse, et uictoria cęlesti certificatam fuisse, uictis et angelis malis et hominibus sceleratis. Nonne et huiusmodi scalę forman a sancto pastore nostro Benedicto habes traditam, cuius observare contendis regulam? Dicit enim latera ipsius scalę typum corporis et animę nostre gradibus inserta cęlestis disciplinę.

[1] In the Leipzig MS. 665 there are two words placed perpendicularly with the points downwards. See R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden: C. C. Meinhold und Söhne, 1906), p. 237.

[2] *S. P. Benedicti Regula*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXVI, 371. Scala illa erigenda est quae in somnio Iacob apparuit . . . Scala vero ipsa erecta, nostra est uita in saeculo: quae humiliato corde a Domino erigitur ad coelum. Latera enim eiusdem scalae, dicimus nostrum esse corpus et animami in qua latera diuersos gradus humilitatis uel disciplinae euocatio diuina ascendendos inseruit.

nately he has given a clue in the last few lines of the passage quoted in the footnote. By the *uirgo Christi* he means without doubt Saint Perpetua and the imagery on folio 93v is drawn in its origin from the vision, or rather visions, of this saint who, at the age of 22, suffered death as a martyr in Africa in 203 A.D. It is recorded that the visions vouchsafed to her are told in her own words. The manner in which they are narrated is extraordinarily simple and extraordinarily telling.[1] There are two passages on which the subject of the *Speculum Virginum* is ultimately based. The first has reference to the ladder.[2]

The second passage occurs in a further vision of Saint Perpetua in which she describes a contest with the Aegyptius, or Ethiopian, in the arena.[3]

In Saint Perpetua's first vision the ascent leads to the white-haired man; in her further vision the reward is bestowed by the *lanista*. In the *Speculum Virginum* it is Christ who is at the top of

[1] See Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1863, etc.) under March 7, p. 632; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* III, 25. The story is told in English in S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints* (London: Nimmo, 1897, 98), III, 104.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 632. Video scalam mirae magnitudinis, pertingentem usque ad coeum et angustam per quam non nisi singuli ascendere possent; et in lateribus scalae omne genus ferramentorum infixum. Erant ibi gladii, lanceae, hami, machaerae: ut si quis negligenter, aut non sursum attendens ascenderet, laniaretur, et carnes eius inhaererent ferramentis. Et erat sub ipsa scala draco cubans mirae magnitudinis qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat et exterrebat ne ascenderent. Ascendit autem Saturus prior, qui postea se propter nos ultro tradiderat, et tunc cum adducti sumus, praesens non fuerat: et peruenit in caput scalae, et conuertit se, et dixit mihi: Perpetua, sustineo te: sed uide ne te mordeat draco ille. Et dixi ego. Non me nocebit in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, et de sub ipsa scala, quasi timens me, lente eiicit caput: et quasi primum gradum calcarem, calcaui illi caput. Et ascendi et uidi spatium horti immensum, et in medio sedentem hominem canum, in habitu pastoris, grandem, oues mulgentem: circumstantes candidati millia multa. Et leuauit caput et aspexit me, et dixit mihi: Beni uenisti tegnon.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 634. Et exiuit quidam contra me Aegyptius; foedus specie, cum adiutoribus suis, pugnaturus mecum . . . Et exiuit uir quidam mirae magnitudinis ut etiam excederet fastigium amphitheatri discincatatus purpuram inter duos clauos per medium pectus, habens calliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas, efferens uirgam quasi lanista, et ramum uiridem, in quo erant mala aurea. Et petiit silentium, et dixit: Hic Aegyptius si hanc uicerit, occidet illam gladio: et si hunc uicerit, accipiet ramum istum et recessit. Et accesimus ad inuicem et coepimus mittere pugnos. Ille mihi pedes apprehendere uolebat: ego autem illi calcibus faciem caedebam: et sublata sum in aere, et coepi eum sic caedere terram concalcans. At ubi uidi moram fieri, iunxi manus, ut digitos in digitos mitterem: et apprehendi illi caput, et cecidit in faciem et calcaui illi caput. Et coepit populus clamare, et fauitores mei psallere. Et accessi ad lanistram, et accepi ramum. Et osculatus est me, et dixit mihi: Filia, pax tecum.

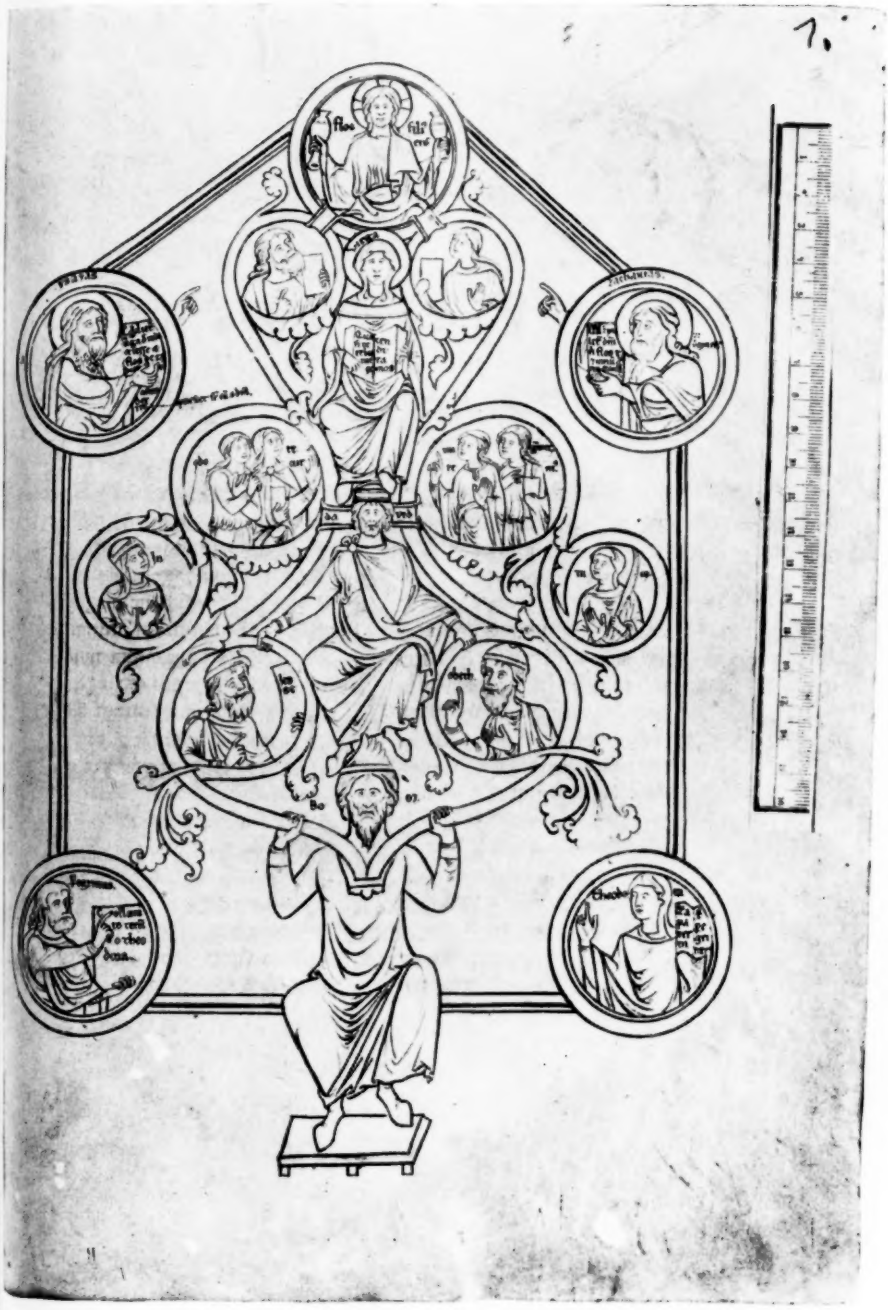

PLATE V

THE TREE OF JESSE

Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *MS. Phill. 1701*, fol. 3r

the ladder and represented as a youth without beard and described in the text as *iuuenis*.

But the association of the Ethiopian with the ladder cannot be said to have been the invention of Peregrinus. It occurs before his time in a hymn, *De Virginibus, Puella turbata*, in a Kolmar MS. of the eleventh century.[1]

A comparison of this with the description of Peregrinus shows a marked verbal similarity.

11 (fol. 108v). Christ represented in a green-bordered vesica, holding an open book on which is written *Eunuchis meis dabo locum et nomen melius filiis et filiabus* (*Isaiah* lvi, 5). On each side of Christ are two groups in one of which on the left is Mary and in the other on the right John. At the bottom a tonsured figure is inclining in veneration before Christ and holding his right foot. The color blue makes its appearance in the nimbus of Mary, Christ, and John.

12 (fol. 114v). This representation is placed at the beginning of chapter xi which is an exposition of the *Septiformis Spiritus cum suis appendiciis*. The picture is in some measure another version of the subject of the frontispiece. There is, for example, in the middle an abbreviated Tree of Jesse including only Jesse, the Virgin, and Christ, and the top is substantially a repetition of that

[1] See F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1853–55), III, 137–8. The following are the first 16 out of 68 lines:

1. Scalam ad coelos
subrectam, tormentis cinctam
2. Cuius ima
draco seruare cautus
inuigilat iugiter,
Ne quis eius
uel primum gradum possit
insaucius scandere;
3. Cuius ascensus
extracto Aethiops
gladio uetat,
Cuius supremis
innixus iuuenis
splendidus ramum
aureolum retinet . . .

J. Kehrein in *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1873), p. 332, refers to an Einsiedeln MS. of the tenth century containing this hymn.

in Plate I above. This representation, however, draws much of its imagery from architecture. Between the columns are the words: *Egredietur uirga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet et requiescet super eum spiritus domini spiritus sapientię, et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientię, pietatis, timororis* (*Isaiah* xi, 1, 2).[1]

Above is *Sapientia edificauit sibi domum excidit columnas septem* (*Prov.* ix, 1).

On the open book which the Virgin holds is written *Dominus possedet me in inicio uiarum suarum* and *Ab eterno ordinata sum et e* (*Prov.* viii, 22, 23). On the closed book held by Christ are the words *Spiritus domini super me eo quod unxerit me* (*Isaiah* lxi, 1).

There are on fol. 17v two small representations of Peregrinus and Theodora, and on fol. 82r are shown by drawings in red the signs of married women, widows, and virgins. Chapter xi has marginal drawings of the heart-shaped leaves which appear at the top of the first illustration.

Peregrinus was a teacher, and the *Speculum* may perhaps be regarded as the precipitation of his experimentally-acquired views as to what should be taught to his students. He realized the value of graphic exposition, and the appeal to the eye would be, he thinks, of special service if Theodora should chance to find among her companions any who did not understand what they read, since to those who were unlettered the picture was a kind of writing and in any case would render an understanding less tardy.[2]

There is an approach to humor in Theodora's request that Peregrinus should proceed with *modica lucubratiuncula* (fol. 127r) and an expression of marked irritation on his part a little further on (fol. 127v) when he says, '*Ignorantia tua ad strophas te excitat ut defendas quod nescis et nescias quod defendis. Multotiens tibi litera repetenda est, quę semper in eodem neglegentię luto hesitare uideris.*'

And the following passage brings to life again a little banter:

[1] Some words are much abbreviated as, e.g. *sci* for *scientię*.

[2] Quod ergo de hoc capitulo queris sicut a patribus accepimus, pauca ponenda sunt, premissa tamen figura, ut consodales tue si forte quod legunt non intellegunt, uel proficiant ex forma subposita, quia ignorantibus litteras, ipsa pictura scriptura est (fol. 57r). *And again*, Attende igitur ut profectum habeas ex mistica pictura si tardior fueris ex scriptura (fol. 13r).

PLATE VI

THE TREE OF JESSE (DUTCH)

British Museum, *MS. Additional 38527*, fol. 4v

P[eregrinus]. Contigit te aliquando templum intrasse uitreo decore illuminatum? T[heodora]. Mecum ludis cum adeo usus hic in ecclesiis preualuerit ut sine huiusmodi decore quicquid ornamenti adhibueris nihil (fol 122r).[1]

The treatise deals largely with the gifts of the spirit and naturally with the *Song of Solomon* from which there are numerous quotations. It is a handbook of knowledge regarded as specially suitable for virgins, an encouragement to them to persevere in what they have undertaken so that they may obtain the crown which is promised them if they are faithful. The writer does not lay claim to have added to knowledge. Near the end he says that his *Speculum* is rather a work of demonstration than of creation.[2] He makes abundant use of metaphor. A striking exemplification of this is to be found in the praise of the Virgin beginning on fol. 44r:

Maria itaque lucis ęternę porta perfulgida, cęlestis aulę gloria, clauis paradisi reserandi, materies seculi renouandi; singulare sancti spiritus habitaculum, solis ęterni tabernaculum; ipsa amor, decus, et forma uirginum, totius ęcclesię continens in se sacramentum; orta uirga de radice Iesse in terris, ante tempora cuncta praesignata Christi mater in celis; Syon et Ierusalem filia regali stirpe progenita, Christi ancilla credentium mater et domina, cęlestis militię regina; reconciliatrix mundi, sacrarium spiritus sancti; iudicis et sponsi tribunal et secretarium, prolis et domini uirginale puerperium; solium regis regum, flos et fructus uirginum, fructus florens mulierum; ipsa forma florentis pudicitię, ipsa uernantis sigillum castimonię. Maria stella matutina, sole et luna splendidior, angelis superior, ipso ethere purior, uirtutum operatrix, humani generis amatrix, perditi mundi prouisa reparatrix; ipsa in patriarchis occulta, a prophetis ostensa, in sinagoga radix floris, in ęcclesia fructus radicis; ipsa gradu uitę speculatiuę quasi cedrus exaltata, quasi palma florens et oliua fructifera; ipsa uirgo prudens; in olio uel lampade, lumen indeficiens totius uirginalis uitę; facie decora, corpore et mente decentissima; lapsis ueniale patrocinium, iustis ne ruant defensaculum, cęli et terrę speculum; et ut breuiter concludam, totius summa salutis humanę causa et gloria benedictionis ęternę.

This passage is divided into two parts, each of which begins with the word 'Maria,' and it might be set out as verse with rhymed

[1] This passage is of interest also in its reference to stained glass windows.

[2] Ecce Theodora, tandem per prolixiores sermonum circuitus speculum uirginum pro posse nostro monstrando potius quam fabricando exhibuimus (fol. 114r).

endings. It may be a quotation. In any case it arrests attention as being an outburst in praise of the Virgin, the object of such adoration in the Middle Ages that the attempts to express it created a vast treasury of metaphor.

Peregrinus was a mystic and wrote with verve. There is a record of the effect which his *Speculum* had in the fourteenth century on one who came under its influence, namely, St Bridget of Sweden. In the *Attestationes Domini Petri Olavi* (British Museum, *MS. Harl. 612*, fol. 267v, col. 1063)[1] it is asserted that, when on a certain day he was reading to Bridget in the monastery of Alvastra from a book which was called *Speculum Virginum*, she was enraptured. That the book was largely used in monasteries may be judged from the fact that there are no fewer than sixteen manuscripts still existing.

As to the literary value of the *Speculum*, Trithemius' appreciation of the author as *Tullianam resonans eloquentiam*[2] may be regarded as excessive, yet there is an attraction in his *affluentissima exuberantia*. He had some knowledge of classical Latin — a considerable knowledge if, as there is some reason to believe (see Appendix B), he was the author of a *Dialogus super Auctores siue Didascalon*. In the *Speculum* he definitely mentions Horace when he says to Theodora (fol. 126v), *Non iniuria prouerbium illud oratianum tibi potest asscribi quę semel arripuit tenet occiditque loquendo* (*Ars Poetica* 475) and his expression *quomodo solent magnis minima conferri* (fol. 65v) is suggestive of Virgil.[3]

The Tree of Jesse (Plate I)

The first illustration (11″ x 7⅛″) in the *Speculum Virginum* is a Tree of Jesse.[4] It is placed at the beginning (fol. 2v) because, as

[1] Preterea dixit iste loquens testis [Petrus Olavus] quod cum ipse quodam die legeret in monasterio Aluastri predicto coram domina B. in libro qui uocatur *Speculum Virginum* in quo Peregrinus monachus disputat de omnibus uirtutibus cum Theodora uirgine, tunc domina B ipso teste loquente hoc uidente ut asseruit rapta fuit in spiritu. See Robert Geete, *op. cit. supra*, p. xvi.

[2] *Cathalogus illustrium uirorum* . . . (Mentz, 1496 ?), fol. xviii^{v}.

[3] Sic paruis componere magna solebam. *Ecl.* i, 24.

[4] With regard to colors: *red* is used for the tree, for the *calami*, and edges of some of the leaves, *green* for the headgear of Booz, Obeth, Jesse, and one of the virgins, for the crown of David, for the vases held by Christ, and in the dress of the four corner figures, and in the nimbus of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist; *blue* for the streams flowing from

it appears, it was the most convenient way which the writer could find of expressing *figuraliter* the main purport of the treatise. So far as the genealogy is concerned it will be noted that it goes back to Booz[1] who is seated on the margin. He holds with his hands the two branches which proceed from his breast. Above to his left is Obeth, his son, and above to his right Jesse, his grandson. Directly above Booz is David who is crowned, and above him, with the omission of all the intervening generations, is the Virgin holding an open book on which is written *Quasi terebintus extendi ramos* (*Ecclus.*, xxiv, 22). Against the Virgin who is nimbed is written the word *uirga* and above is Christ who is cross-nimbed, *Flos filius eius.*

Above Christ are seven *calami* leading to heart-shaped leaves representing the seven Gifts of the Spirit named together in each case with the associated qualities. Still higher are seven other leaves. The following is a transcription, in full, of the words which are in some cases much abbreviated:

1. (*a*) Beati pacifici
   (*b*) Santificetur nomen
   (*c*) Vox domini super aquas
   (*d*) Vincenti dabo stellam matutinam
   (*e*) Baptismus
   (*f*) Lex scripta
   (*g*) Fides

   (I) Spiritus Sapientie
   Mobilis
   Stabilis

2. (*a*) Beati mundo corde
   (*b*) Aduenіat regnum
   (*c*) Vox domini preparantis ceruos
   (*d*) Qui uicerit dabo ei calculum (candidum)
   (*e*) Sermones
   (*f*) Spes
   (*g*) Incarnatio

   (II) Spiritus Intellectus
   Mundus
   Subtilis

the vases, in the dress of Jesse, David, and Obeth, in the nimbus of the Virgin, Christ, Isaiah, and Zachariah, and in the borders of the heart-shaped leaves, and *brown* generally for the hair and features. There are instances in the other illustrations where blue appears to have been selected as indicating what was to be regarded of high spiritual import.

[1] The writer of this article knows of no pictorial representations of a Tree of Jesse which begin with Booz except those in manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*. Such representations may, however, exist. See Appendix C, pp. 468, 469, below.

3. (*a*) Beati misericordes
(*b*) Fiat uoluntas tua
(*c*) Vox domini concutientis desertum
(*d*) Qui uicerit uestietur uestimentis albis
(III) Spiritus Consilii
unicus
longe prospiciens
(*e*) Passio domini
(*f*) Expositores
(*g*) Caritas

4. (*a*) Beati qui esurient et sitiunt iustitiam
(*b*) Panem nostrum cotidianum
(*c*) Vox domini intercidentis
(flammam ignis)
(*d*) Vincenti dabo manna absconditum
(IV) Spiritus fortitudinis
certus
Securus
(*e*) Descensus ad inferos
(*f*) Epistole canonice
(*g*) Fortitudo

5. (*a*) Beati qui lugent
(*b*) Dimitte nobis debita
(*c*) Vox domini confringentis cedros
(*d*) Qui uicerit faciam illum
columnam in templo
(*V*) Spiritus scientie
Multiplex
Disertus
(*e*) Resurrectio
(*f*) Euangelium
(*g*) Iusticia

6. (*a*) et ne nos inducas
(*b*) Beati mites
(*c*) Vox domini in magnificentia
(*d*) Qui uicerit dabo ei sedere
mecum in throno
(VI) Spiritus Pietatis
Suauis
Benignus
(*e*) Ascensio
(*f*) Prophecie
(*g*) Temperantia

7. (*a*) Beati pauperes spiritu
(*b*) Libera nos a malo
(*c*) Vox domini in uirtute
(*d*) Vincenti dabo edere de ligno uite
(VII) Spiritus Timoris
Acutus
Humanus
(*e*) Lex composita
(*f*) Prudentia
(*g*) Aduentus domini

Under (I) to (VII) are set forth the Gifts of the Spirit (*Isaiah* ix, 1, 2) and beneath them the qualities.[1]

For (*a*) the Beatitudes and (*b*) Petitions, see *Matth.* v, vi; (*c*) *Voces Domini*, *Ps.* xxviii in the Vulgate; (*d*) the Triumphal Crowns, *Apoc.* ii, iii. The series (*e*) consists of references to Articles of the Creed; (*f*) to sources of divine guidance; and under (*g*) are the Virtues.[2]

Above David to his right and left are six virgins to whom the following written words apply, *In odore*[3] *unguentorum tuorum currimus* from the *Song of Solomon* (i, 3), *Trahe me post te currimus in odorem unguentorum tuorum*. On the virgins descend the streams from the two vases and also on the two figures to the right and left of the Virgin, who are respectively John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Some evidence as to the intention with regard to these two figures is to be found in the corresponding illustration from the Vatican *MS. Palat. cod. Lat. 565*, where the abbreviations *Ioh bapt* and *Joh eu* appear against the figures. And in the fifteenth-century Dutch manuscript (British Museum *Add MS. 38527*, see Plate VI) the figure to the right hand of Christ is holding a lamb, and that to the left a chalice. Further, if attention is directed to the subject-matter of Chapter v of the *Speculum* (see pp. 447, 450 above) there appears to be no doubt that the four figures at the top of the design represent the *quadriga* — Christ (*Angus*), the Virgin, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist.

In the two medallions at the top are represented Isaiah and Zachariah. Isaiah (nimbed) holds a book on which is written his

[1] *Wisdom of Solomon* vii, 22. Est enim in illa (sapientia) spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis . . . .

Theodora (fol. 124v) points out that Peregrinus has altered the order given in Scripture.

[2] Towards the end of the treatise Peregrinus attempts to frame paragraphs in which references to each Gift and its associates (*a*) to (*g*) are knitted together. As an example (from fol. 125r) may be given the following, the letters within round brackets showing how the various ideas are introduced:

Qui sapit (I) *quę sunt spiritus domini per pacis* (a) *custodiam uenire festinat in adoptionem filiorum domini. De qua pace* (a) *quęrenda tenenda, uox domini super aquas* (c), *id est predicatio domini semper ad populos ferebatur quia ipse est pax nostra* (a) *qui fecit utrumque unum, propter nos baptizatur* (e), *ubi et dominus maiestatis intonuit, hic est filius nobis delectus et cet. In hac itaque uoce sapientię* (I) *legis* (f) *summa in cordibus fidelium non atramento sed digito domini scribitur* (f); *ut fides* (g) *excitetur fide, nomen domini sanctificetur* (b), *per laborem presentis uitę stella matutina* (d) *id est ęterna corona quęratur.*

[3] That the syllable 'do' appears twice is no doubt due to inadvertence.

prophecy (ix, 1): '*Egredietur uirga de radice Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet et requiescet super eum spiritus domini.*' On the right Zachariah (nimbed) also has a book in his hand and on this is written *Quid est pulchrum domini nisi frumentum electorum et uinum germinans uirgines* (ix, 17).

The two medallions at the bottom have within them figures representing Peregrinus and Theodora. On the book which Peregrinus holds are his first few words in the whole dialogue, '*Collaturo tecum, o Theodora,*' and Theodora's book similarly has written on it her first words, '*Quia frater in Christo peregrine.*' The position in which the second finger and thumb of her right hand are shown may possibly be intended to have reference to the *centesimus fructus*. Mention of this sign as representing virgins does not appear in the *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*[1] of the eleventh century, where a totally different *signum uirginis uel muliebris* is given. Peregrinus, however, in chapter vii of the *Speculum* gives three signs, two of which are made with the left hand and stand for married women and widows. The third for virgins is made with the right hand by forming a circle with the thumb and first finger.[2] In the illustration the circle is made with the thumb and second finger, but this variation may possibly be due to the fact that the index finger is needed for pointing, as in the case of the three other corner figures.

Booz is seated. In all the representations of this subject in the *Speculum* which the writer has seen, neither Booz nor Jesse is recumbent.

The sitting position of Jesse is supposed by Emile Mâle to have originated in the fifteenth century:[3]

> Donnons un exemple des audaces que se permettent les maîtres. Il y a eu vers la fin du XV^e^ siècle un artiste qui a osé modifier l'iconographie de l'arbre de Jessé. Au lieu de nous montrer le patriarche *couché* et voyant en

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CL, 948.

[2] The verbal description of these signs and of their meaning (fol. 82r) is the same, apart from unimportant differences, as that of St Jerome, *Aduersus Iouinianum*, Lib. i (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXIII, 213). The signs are for the numbers 30, 60 and 100, and are made to stand for the *tricesimus*, *sexagesimus* and *centesimus fructus*. With regard to the use of signs for numbers, see Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXIII, 213, footnote b, and J. E. B. Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (London: Macmillan, 1886, 1888), II, 142, note on l. 249 of the tenth Satire.

[3] *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris: Colin, 1922), p. 82.

rêve un grand arbre sortir de son ventre, il le represente *assis* sous un dais en forme de tente . . . L'origine de cette innovation remonte au *Speculum Humanae Salvationis:* c'est là que l'on voit pour la première fois Jessé, non plus couché, mais assis.

Mâle, however, with some apparent inconsistency, mentions in his book dealing with twelfth-century art in France[1] an instance of the representation, assigned to the end of the eleventh century, of Jesse seated. If, however, this should be judged too timid to be taken into account, the illustration in at least four representations in the *Speculum Virginum* not later than the thirteenth century of Booz as seated and wide awake deserve some attention.[2]

This tree of Jesse occurs in eight other MSS, viz., those at Zwettl, Rome, Berlin, Troyes (2), Leipzig, Cologne (*W kf 155*), and in the British Museum *Add MS. 38527*. There is also a reproduction in R. Forrer, *Unedirte Miniaturen und Initialen des Mittelalters* (Strassburg, 1907), Vol. II, Taf. IV, in which the kinship to the illustrations in the MSS of the *Speculum Virginum* is clear. Plates V and VI are reproductions of the Tree of Jesse from two of these manuscripts.

The illustration from the Berlin *MS. Phill. 1701* (Plate V) ($15\frac{1}{4}'' \times 11''$) shows a divergence in several details of design from that in *Arundel 44*. The representation of the gifts of the spirit has disappeared. David is shown full length, in majesty. His attitude, the folds of his robes, his grasp of the branches, showing to the front the palm of his right hand and the back of his left, have a marked similarity to the representation of one of the kings (the fourth above Jesse) in the window of the Cathedral at Chartres.[3] It may be noted that the four figures representing the *quadriga* are

[1] *L'Art Religieux du XII^e Siècle en France* (Paris: Colin, 1922), p. 171, second footnote. The reference is to the Tree of Jesse reproduced in F. J. Lehner, *Česká Škola Malířská XI. věku* (*Die Böhmische Malerschule des XI. Jahrhunderts*), Prague, 1902, Plate VIII.

[2] The artist of the *Windmill Psalter* in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century was daring enough to represent Jesse as seated in a fine illumination of the initial B of the first Psalm. This is reproduced in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (*Bennett Collection*) (London: Chiswick Press, 1906), opposite p. 41. Jesse is also represented as seated in an initial L at the beginning of St Matthew's Gospel in the British Museum *MS. Burney 3*, fol. 801r. The MS. is a Bible, 1245, from St Augustine's, Canterbury.

[3] See J. B. A. Lassus, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Paris, 1842), Plate 58.

more closely grouped together and form the summit of the design. Joachin Kirchner[1] assigns this illumination to French origin and draws attention to the delight which French artists showed in manual skill while with the German it was the subject which was of prime interest.

The fifteenth-century British Museum *Add. MS. 38527, Spieghel der Maechden* (7½″ x 5⅜″) (Plate VI), a Dutch translation, has a Tree of Jesse on fol. 4v. The leaves at the top of the *MS. Arundel 44* have been replaced by female heads, and scrolls each with the name in Dutch of one of the Gifts of the Spirit. Isaiah, Zachariah, Peregrinus, and Theodora are full length. The branches have become changed into intersecting thin circle-lines. The branch issues on two sides from the mouth of Booz. The subject has become realistic and lost a good deal of its original simplicity and significance as a religious subject. There is a mass of blue background, and red within the circles. The branches are green, and gold appears on every nimbus, on David's crown, on the two vases and chalice, and on the robes of Peregrinus.

Representations of the Tree of Jesse in the Middle Ages and in later times are so numerous and so varied in their content that it may well happen that even an important class should escape notice. Neither Corblet in his *Etude Iconographique sur l'Arbre de Jesse* (Paris, Arras, [printed 1860]), nor Emile Mâle in his three great works on ecclesiastical art in France makes any mention of the Tree of Jesse in the illustrations to the *Speculum Virginum*. These illustrations are of interest, however, as having a significance distinct from that of other representations. In this Tree of Jesse the author has found a means of expressing iconographically his special religious teaching. With it are associated ideas not only of what should be believed and worshipped but also of what should be done, and it may be regarded as an abbreviature for those whom he was addressing.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

APPENDIX A

Manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*

1. London. XIIth cent. *Brit. Mus. Arundel 44*, 129 fol. Imperfect. One or two folios at the end and the *Epithalamium* missing. Illuminated.

On the outside of fol. 1, is a hymn, '*Audite o lucis filie aduerti te coheredes regis et saluatoris nostri*,' with musical notation, neums on a four-lined stave the second of which is red and the fourth yellow. This appears to be of about the same date as the *Speculum;* it is not, however, referred to in the *Epistola* which contains a summary of the contents of the manuscript. The words at the top of this page, *hugo mag*, indicate that the manuscript was once in the possession of a *magister*.

2. Cologne. XIIth cent. Historisches Archiv, *W f 276a* from St Maria in Andernach. Imperfect, begins in the third chapter and ends in the ninth. Illuminated.

3. Wuerzburg. XII–XIIIth cent. Universitäts-bibliothek, *Mp. th. f. 107*. From Ebrach. First book missing. Contains the *Epitholamium*. Without illuminations.

4. Zwettl. XIIIth cent. (1st half). Cistercian Monastery. *Cod. 180*. Contains the 12 books and the *Epithalamium*. Illuminated.

5. Rome. XIIIth cent. Vatican, *Palat. cod. Lat. 565*. Illuminated.

6. Berlin. XIIIth cent. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *Phill. 1701*. 148 folios. Contains the *Epithalamium*. Illuminated.

The career of this MS. is interesting. It originally belonged to the Cistercian monastery at Igny, afterwards to the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris. In 1763 it passed to Meerman, in 1824 to Sir Thomas Phillipps, and in 1887 to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.[1]

[1] See Valentine Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. XII. *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften*, vol. I (Berlin: Asher, 1893), pp. 133, 137 and Robert Geete: *Speculum Virginum: Jungfruspegel* (Stockholm: 1897, 1898) pp. x, x, xi.

7. Troyes. XIIIth cent. Bibliothèque de la Ville, *252*. From Clairvaux. Contains the *Epithalamium*. Illuminated.

8. Troyes. XIIIth cent. Bibliothèque de la Ville, *413*. Varies from *252* only in small details. Illuminated.

9. Arras. XIIIth cent. Bibliothèque Municipale, *943–282*. From the Abbey of St Vaast. Originally 141 folios of which 40 are missing. Nine illuminations.

10. Leipzig. XIVth cent. Universitäts-bibliothek, *Mscr. Nr. 665*. Germany (Saxony); 165 folios. Illuminated.

For reproductions of five subjects from this MS. see R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden: 1906), pp. 234–238.

11. Reims. XIVth cent. (end). Bibliothèque de la Ville, *611* (*F 432*). Contains only 20 folios and these belong to the 6th book. Without illuminations.

12. Cologne. XVth cent. Historisches Archiv. *W kf 155*. From Kreuzherrnkloster in Cologne. Illuminated.

13. London. XVth cent. Brit. Mus. *Add MS 38527*. Dutch translation, Utrecht. At the end is written, '*Dit boec hoer totten sustenen bi onser vrouwen in den wijngaert t' Utrecht.*' Contains only the first six chapters. Illuminated.

For reproductions of four subjects from this MS. see A. W. Bijvanck and Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen in Handschriften der* 14e, 15e *en* 16e *Eeuwen* ('s Gravenhage, *publisher* 1921–25), Plates 83 and 84.

14. Munich. XVth cent. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Lat. 3561*. Imperfect. Contains at the end a graphic exposition of the *Pater Noster*.

15. Stockholm. XVth cent. Kongl. Bibliothek, Antikvitelsarkivets. Translation into Swedish by Mathias Laurentii (Mats Larsson). 164 folios. Without illuminations.

16. Arras. XVIIth cent. Bibliothèque Municipale, *704–916*. From the Abbey of St Vaast. Without illuminations.

In the sixth volume of Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* (Paris, 1739), p. 210, Edmond Martène, who completed the work after Mabillon's death, adds, under the year 1131, in reference to

the *Speculum Virginum: quod editioni paratum penes nos habemus.* The MS. from which it was intended to issue a printed copy may be additional to those enumerated above.

APPENDIX B

Authorship of the *Speculum Virginum*

Trithemius refers to the *Speculum Virginum* in his books *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, Cathalogus Illustrium Virorum* and *Chronicon Insigne Monasterii Hirsaugiensis.* Valentine Rose, and after him Robert Geete, utterly mistrust Trithemius' assignment of the authorship of the *Speculum* to Conrad. They point out that at first Trithemius was content with stating the assumed name Peregrinus, but that later than 1492 he introduced the name of Conrad. If Trithemius was in a more or less large number of cases inaccurate, it does not follow that he was never accurate, and he may have had some evidence of weight in this particular case. Valentine Rose states that in the Berlin MS. and elsewhere in MSS without exception the *Speculum Virginum* is anonymous.[1] The *Epistola* of the Berlin MS. begins *Ultimus Christi pauperum N virginibus sacris N et N.* Rose refers to one of the Troyes MS. and the Vatican MS. In the former the first initial letter is also N. In the latter it appears from a rotograph that there are spaces with no initials inserted.

The twelfth-century Cologne MS., the British Museum *MS. Add. 38257*, and some other MSS are not helpful, since they do not contain the *Epistola.*

On the other hand, in the twelfth-century British Museum *MS. Ar. 44* the *Epistola* begins as has already been noted: *Vltimus Christi pauperum C. . . .* The Swedish translation, fifteenth century, edited by Robert Geete, begins: *Äptherste aff Christi fatighom C. . . .* and the Zwettl, Leipzig, and Cologne I (*W kf 155*) MSS also have *C.*

Valentine Rose apparently was unaware of the existence of these five MSS. Robert Geete knew of one case in which the letter *C* appeared, viz., that of the Swedish translation which he edited. He is unwilling, however, to admit that the letter could stand for

[1] Rose, *op. cit. supra*, p. 137.

Conrad. He gives reasons for thinking that the MS. was copied by Christina Hansdotter Brask who entered the Vadstena monastery in 1459. His conclusion is that she inserted her own initial as a little piece of vanity.[1] It is simpler, in the light of the fact that the letter *C* occurs in other MSS, to suppose that it is a reproduction from a Latin MS.

The appearance of the initial *C* in the *Epistola* of five MSS does not prove that the author's name was Conrad. But that it occurs in a twelfth-century MS. should warrant at any rate some hesitancy in assuming finally that the assignment of the authorship to one of the name of Conrad was unfounded.

The only contribution here made with regard to the authorship of the *Speculum Virginum* is this internal evidence in the *Epistola*. The claim that the author's name was Conrad is supported by G. Schepps[2] and B. Hauréau.[3]

With reference to books in the Hirschau library of a monk named Peregrinus, see G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 219, 220, and Lessing, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur* (Braunschweig, 1773), Zweyter Beytrag, pp. 356 ff.

APPENDIX C

The Inclusion of Booz in the Tree of Jesse

In representations of the *Linea Christi* Jesse is ordinarily chosen as the initial figure and the reason for this is of course to be found in the prophecy of Isaiah (ix, 1, 2).

The representations accordingly implicity or explicitly have reference to the Gifts of the Spirit. But the tree-representation does not necessarily begin with Jesse. In the *Speculum Virginum* it is Booz

[1] Geete, *Speculum Virginum: Jungfruspegel* (Stockholm, 1897–1898), pp. xxiv–xxvi.

[2] *Conradi Hirsaugiensis Dialogus super Auctores sive Didascalon* (Würzburg: A. Stuber, 1889). Schepps quotes a number of similarities in expression between the *Dialogus* and the *Speculum*, and there appears to be some ground for assuming a common authorship of the two works.

[3] *Les Oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Hachette, 1886), pp. 143–148. Hauréau believed that Conrad was the author of the *Speculum Virginum* and of the *Libellus de fructibus carnis et spiritus* attributed to Hugo de S. Victore (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXXVI, 997).

who is placed at the base. And it is quite possible that there exist some representations of a different kind in which the creator has had Booz in mind. For though a reason is given above for the selection of Jesse there are other grounds on which Booz might be represented in the position at the foot of the tree assigned to him in the *Speculum Virginum*. Booz is a more picturesque figure in biblical story than Jesse, the latter being outstanding as the father of David and the ancestor of Christ specially named by Isaiah, whereas Booz is a character in the dramatic story of Ruth. He was the son of a Canaanitess (Rahab) and the husband of a Moabitess (Ruth) and there is thus associated with him the idea of the transferred allegiance of Gentiles to the people and God of the Israelites. Again, Booz was by some writers in the Middle Ages regarded as the type of Christ. In the ninth century Rabanus Maurus in a *Commentary* on the *Book of Ruth* [1] asks, '*Quis est iste uir, qui consanguineus erat Elimelech? nisi Redemptor noster*', and in the same century Paschasius Radbertus in an exposition of *St Matthew's Gospel* says: [2]

> Nurus autem Synagogae non immerito Ecclesia accipitur, quae utique sponsa meruit appelari. Nam et ex ea patres fuerunt ex quibus Christus nasci dignatus est. Ideo eiusdem Synagogae filius recte nuncupatur: Ergo Booz iste hoc in loco figuram Christi tenuit.

St Isidore in the seventh century in his *Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae* [3] writes: '*Ruth alienigena, quae Israelitico uiro nupsit Ecclesiam ex gentibus ad Christum uenientem ostendit. Booz autem Christum uerum Ecclesiae sponsum expressit.*'

The fact that Victor Hugo in his poem, *Booz Endormi*, has also assigned to Booz the place usually given to Jesse is of interest in this connection. The poet represents Booz as recumbent and dreaming:

> Et ce songe était tel que Booz vit un chêne
> Qui, sorti de son ventre, allait jusqu'au ciel bleu;
> Une race y montait comme une longue chaîne
> Un roi chantait en bas, en haut mourait un Dieu.[4]

[1] *Patr. Lat.* CVIII, 1205. [2] *Ibid.* CXX, 62. [3] *Ibid.* LXXXIII, 112.
[4] Victor Hugo, *Légende des Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1921), I, 84.

Finchley, London.

THE PERFECT PRINCE: A STUDY IN THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY IDEALS

By LESTER KRUGER BORN

IN the political thought of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the central figure about which the whole revolves is the prince. This emphasises the personal view toward rulership, which is characteristic of the period. Furthermore in accordance with the mediaeval attitude, the writers of these centuries considered the real in terms of the ideal, and were interested in nothing less than the pattern of the perfect prince.

Numerous treatises have been written on that subject from the time of classical antiquity itself. Sometimes the discussions formed incidental parts of larger works; sometimes they were units in themselves. At all events, from the time of St Augustine and his *Ciuitas Dei* there has been a long chain of writers and treatises such as those of Cassianus, *Liber de Principatibus;* St Isidore, *De Principis Honestate,* and *De Regnis;* Jonas of Orleans, *De Institutione Regia;* Hincmar of Rheims, *De Regis Persona et Regio Ministerio;* Sedulius Scotus, *De Rectoribus Christianis;* Peter Damianus, *De Principis Officiis;* Theophylactus Bulgar, *Institutio Regia;* Hugo of Fleury, *De Potestate Regia.* . . . These treatises bear the marks of ecclesiastical thought and training, which, on the whole, aided the idea of national monarchy, in the ascendency from the period with which we start in this paper. The twelfth and following centuries were especially productive of this type of literature.

The importance of these numerous treatises on the training of the prince varies greatly. All of them were well known in their own day, and some of them still hold their place. Others are now hardly more than 'the shadow of a name,' except to the bibliographer. Some of them were prepared for the use of a particular prince and follow what seemed expedient for him; others have a distinctly pedagogical form and, although dedicated to some one prince, are really intended

for the use of the children of all nobility; [1] and still others theorize on the subject of government in general.[2]

Many of the works bring in, more or less incidentally, points that are of great importance — or better, were later to become of great importance. Such ideas as the controversy over church and state; the theory of divine right; the idea of unity; the 'contract' theory; the distinction between *dominium politicum* and *dominium regale;* the problems of internal administration; the matter of coinage; economic relationships; the idea of 'law' are all present in one or more of the writers that we are dealing with. But our interest here is confined to the one central figure — the prince.[3]

John of Salisbury [4]

While the date of his treatise puts it before the real limits of this paper, no treatment of mediaeval political ideas could overlook John of Salisbury, whose influence was so predominant in later generations.

The Policraticus of John of Salisbury is the earliest elaborate medieval treatise on politics. . . . It [is] a landmark in the history of political specu-

[1] Vincent of Beauvais' treatise, *De Eruditione Filiorum Regalium*, seems to come in that class. It was written in 1249–54 at the request of the mother of Louis IX of France, and is largely a reworking of matter contained in his *Speculum Doctrinale*, VII. It contains such ideas as the body and head of the state; the training of officials; the development of the prince's character; reverence to God. The work is extremely rare, and I know it only through the article by Daunou in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XVIII (1895), 463; 466–7; 496; and the dissertation of R. Friederich, *Vincentius von Beauvais als Pädagog* . . . (Leipzig, 1883), which gives all the chapter headings.

[2] Due to the limits of this paper, only the most readily accessible standard references have been given in the notes to each section. For the biography, bibliography, studies, and appreciations of the writers here discussed, the reader is referred to the various dictionaries of biography, such sources as Chevalier, Molinier, and Potthast, and the histories of literature. Of general interest is Wm. Münch, *Gedanken über Fürstenerziehung aus Alter und Neuer Zeit*, Munich, 1909.

[3] Dr Lydia Lothrop, of the Department of History and Political Science, University of West Virginia, has generously allowed me to use her notes on Gilbert of Tournai, Aegidius Romanus, and Marsiglio of Padua.

[4] Born ca. 1110; died 1180; Salisbury wrote the *Policraticus* in 1159. For the latest treatment of this work, see the translation by John Dickinson, *The Statesman's Year Book of John of Salisbury* (Knopf: New York, 1927), and introductions, pp. xvii-lxxxii. The best text is that of C. C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1909), 2 vols. Cf. also W. A. Dunning, *History of Political Theories* (Macmillan: New York, 1916), I, 181–188; and P. Janet, *Histoire de la Science Politique dans ses Rapports avec la Morale* (4th ed., Paris, 1913), I, 341–344.

lation for two reasons. It is the only important political treatise written before the western thought had once more become familiar with the Politics of Aristotle. . . . In the second place it comes just before the important turning-point in the institutional development at the end of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth, century, when legal precision began to be stamped on a great number of previously indefinite relationships. . . . It contributed a heritage of ideas whose momentum made them, in spite of the newer influences, the dominant force in political thought down to at least the middle of the sixteenth century.[1]

Therefore let us see what he has to say about the 'perfect prince.'

Salisbury is really interested only in monarchy (iv, 1 ff.), and so he begins at once with the place of the prince (i.e., a single leader) in the state, which is likened to the human body. The prince is the head, and is 'subject only to God and to those who exercise His office and represent Him on earth;' the senate fills the place of the heart, and the judges and governors of the princes represent the eyes, ears, and tongue; officials and soldiers are the hands; the constant attendants of the prince correspond to the sides; officers of the treasury are like the stomache; and the farmers are like the feet, 'which always cleave to the soil . . . and deserve aid and protection . . . since it is they who raise, sustain, and move forward the entire weight of the body.'[2]

From this it is clear that Salisbury foreshadows the theory of divine right, and in chapter 6 of the same book, he says that the prince is established in his seat by God. However, he does not believe in absolute hereditary succession. The prince may only hope to have his son succeed him if that son is worthy of his father. Succession in the family, then, is both a reward to a good ruler for the proper training of his son, and an incentive for the son to be deserving (iv, 11; cf. also v, 6). The evils that spring from the strife over rights of succession are many (v, 6–7; cf. iv, 11).

The duties of a good prince are manifold.

> [He] should be chaste and avoid avarice (iv, 5); he should be learned in letters (iv, 6); he should be humble (iv, 7); he should banish from his realm actors and mimes, buffoons and harlots (iv, 4); he should seek the welfare

[1] Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii, xviii.

[2] v, 2. This is the first formulation of the 'organic analogy.'

of others and not his own (iv, 8); he should wholly forget the affections of flesh and blood and do only that which is demanded by the welfare and safety of his subjects; he should be both father and husband to them (iv, 3); he should correct their errors with the proper remedies (iv, 8); he should be affable of speech and generous in conferring benefits; he should temper justice with mercy (iv, 8); he should punish the wrongs and injuries of all, and all crimes, with even-handed equity (iv, 2); he has duties to the very wise and the very foolish, to little children and to the aged (iv, 3); his shield is a shield for the protection of the weak, and should ward off the darts of the wicked from the innocent (iv, 2); he must act on the counsel of wise men (v, 6); he must protect the widow and the orphan (v, 6); he must curb the malice of officials and provide for them out of the public funds to the end that all occasion for extortion may be removed (v, 10); he must restrain the soldiery from outrage (vi, 1); he should be learned in law and military science (vi, 2);[1] he must in all things provide for the welfare of the lower classes (vi, 20); he must avoid levity (vi, 23); he is charged with the disposal of the means of the public welfare (vi, 24); and is the dispenser of honour (vi, 26); he must not close his ear to the cries of the poor (vi, 27); he must raise aloft the roof-tree of the Church and extend abroad the worship of religion (vi, 2); he must protect the Church against sacrilege and rapine (vi, 13); and finally, he must ever strive so to rule that in the whole community over which he presides none shall be sorrowful (vi, 6).[2]

The prince who is to perform all these many obligations must have good advisers. They are to be chosen from among the old men (following the successful practice of both the Greeks and Romans), and such as fear God (v, 9). 'Unjust men are therefore to be excluded, and men who are overbearing and avaricious, and all such manner of human plagues. Nought, indeed, is more deadly than the unrighteous counsellor of a rich man' (v, 9). The prince must also bear in mind that there is no greater glory than the favor and praise which comes from good men (viii, 14); and that he shall place his friendship only in such honorable men (iii, 12). Obviously flattery and the association of toadies is to be shunned at all times (iii, 4–7). Luxury and the dissipations of lust lead only to undoing (viii, 6). The prince should never forget that he and his money both belong to his people (iv, 5), for the love of wealth for its own sake can lead only to great evil (vii, 16). An evil prince is a nucleus of countless

[1] The discussion on military service is based largely on Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, and occupies chapters 2–19 of Book VI.

[2] Dickinson, pp. l–li.

evils to the state (vi, 20). 'Then and then only will the health of the commonwealth be sound and flourishing when the higher members shield the lower, and the lower respond faithfully and fully in like manner to the just demands of their superiors, so that each and all are as it were, members of one another by a sort of reciprocity, and each regards his own interest as best served by that which he knows to be most advantageous for the others' (vi, 20).

The original state of society was good, and in it we may infer there was no need of checks and laws (viii, 17), but now that state no longer exists and there is a prince and there are laws.[1] The prince is the 'envoy of God on earth' and holds his power from Him (iv, 1, 10, 12; v, 2, 6, 25–26; vi, 1). If the prince controverts the law of God, his subjects are justified in refusing obedience (vi, 9, 12, 25). But this is not to be a violent disobedience (v, 6; cf. vii, 20). The prince is to serve his fellow-servants of God (iv, 7), and is responsible *for* his state, not *to* it (v, 7), and will be judged in Heaven for the discharge of his trust (v, 11; vi, 1). Therefore according to divine law, the prince is subject to the law (iv, 4), albeit the will of the prince has the force of law (iv, 1). This is explained by the fact that as soon as the prince acts contrary to the established law, he ceases to be a prince and becomes a tyrant. In enforcing these laws to which he himself is subject, the prince should be regular and consistent (iv, 6–7), although officials are to be punished more severely for their misdeeds than are the commoners (vi, 1). Laws which only catch the lowly, and allow the great to go unpunished, are like spider-webs which catch the flies but do not hold the larger creatures (vii, 20). But the prince should not fail to temper his justice with mercy (iv, 8).

Salisbury believes that liberty and virtue are inseparable (vii, 25), and that real liberty can only be obtained if there is freedom of speech (vii, 25). Hence the good prince in a good state should 'accept with patience the words of free speaking, whatever they may be. Nor [should] he oppose himself to its words so long as these do not involve the casting away of virtue' (vii, 25). Consequently,

[1] Salisbury refers to the well-ordered social state of the bees (vi, 21), which is so much used by later writers. It is taken from Virgil's *Georgics*, iv, 153–218.

in hearing a charge of *lèse-majesté*,[1] the person of the accused must be looked to, to see if he could have committed the offense and, if so, if he was of sane mind at the time. 'Nor ought a mere slip of the tongue be drawn into punishment' (vi, 25).

From a discussion of *lèse-majesté* it is but a step to that of tyrannicide.[2] Salisbury says 'it is just for a public tyrant to be killed and the people set free for the service of God' (viii, 20 passim). The origin of tyranny he gives as springing from pride and 'ambition, that is, the lust of power and glory' (vii, 17). Cupidity is the companion of folly. If a man possessing these qualities succeeds in gaining the highest position from which he may 'oppress a whole people by rulership based on force,' he is a tyrant (vii, 17).[3] With an accumulation of arguments and examples to show that all tyrants come to a bad end, Salisbury brings his *Policraticus* to a close.

Giraldus Cambrensis[4]

In Book i, 19, Giraldus explains the significance of titles both temporal and spiritual. 'A prince is held to be a sort of head. Just as the head of man or other animal sees and hears not merely for itself, but uses these and other physical senses to the ordering of the whole body, so the head of a state is thought not only not to hear and see, but not even to live, for himself, but rather for his people. What a head is without limbs, this a prince is without subjects' (i, 19).

[1] This was one of the most serious offenses possible, and was severely punished upon conviction.

[2] Dickinson points out that Salisbury was the first to formulate a real doctrine on this subject.

[3] For a comparison of a tyrant and a king see viii, 17.

[4] Born 1146 ?; died 1220 ?. Giraldus wrote the *De Principis Instructione* about 1217, and it was inspired, as he tells us, by the prevalence of evil practices of both the princes and prelates in his own day (pref. to Bk. i). The work is divided into three long books or *Distinctiones*, as he calls them. The first is general and didactic in nature, while the second and third are historical and consist of reflections about the contemporary rulers. The treatise is dedicated to posterity in general, and in particular to Louis of France, "because he has been imbued with liberal studies since early boyhood and is outstanding in his liberal attitude." Extracts of this treatise were first published in Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens*, xviii, 122–163; and the second and third books (with short extracts from the first) were printed separately in 1846. The best edition of this work is by G. F. Warner, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, viii (1891), being number 21 of the Rolls Series. It is only with the first book that we are primarily concerned in this study.

The need for princely power is not confined to man, but is found also among the animals and even in the Kingdom of Heaven (i, 1). A good prince has many duties and responsibilities. To meet them he should be careful to offend no one by his actions (i, 1); to be mild in his attitude (i, 2) as many of the great princes of antiquity have been; to be modest, which will win the praise of all (i, 13); to be dignified in his public appearances at all times, and to relax as an individual in private (i, 2); to be loved rather than feared, but yet not grow too easy (i, 2); to act with propriety, 'for in every time of life one must be careful to keep his actions appropriate and his conduct of life fitting and becoming' (i, 3); to keep untainted from moral weaknesses which are especially shameful in a prince whose example is aped by so many (i, 4; cf. i, 20); to be patient with the failings of others after the example of Christ and some of the good Roman Emperors (i, 5); to be moderate in manner and studiously avoid quick anger (i, 6); to be careful not to inflict punishments while aroused by wrath (i, 6); to remember that great anger has an injurious effect on the physique (i, 6), whereas clemency is one of the greatest of all good qualities (i, 7); and that it is 'a glorious thing to hold punishment well within the maximum bounds' (i, 7); not to forgive too much nor yet to thirst for the blood of even an enemy (i, 7); to be munificent, but not without restraint, for the treasury must not be drained nor his patrimony dissipated, since excessive generosity becomes prodigality (i, 8); to be prudent, since that quality prevents justice turning to cruelty, bravery to temerity, and temperance to laxity (i, 11); to remember that the greatest princes have been devoted to letters (introd. to Bk. i), and that learning is of distinct advantage, as the example of Charlemagne showed (i, 11); that although 'fortune favors the brave' (i, 14), prudence enables the prince to make the necessary decisions in emergencies (i, 11); and the reading of history furnishes help by examples of strategy and outcomes (i, 11); to realize that it is obviously folly to make war rashly, albeit the magnificence of the prince is bound up with his bravery (i, 9; cf. i, 14), but so is his idealism (*magnanimitas*), his faith, his safety, his stability, and his patience (i, 9); and, finally, to know that 'just as the glory of a father lies in the wisdom of his son,

so the glory of a prince is reflected in the peace and tranquility of his subjects' (i, 15).

From this it is clear that the prince should be the pattern for his subjects — in fact, there is nothing more praiseworthy (i, 20). From his exalted position his virtues and his vices are equally displayed (i, 20) and

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe uulgus.[1]

To be good and to have good adherents the prince must be devoted to religion and the general teachings of the Christian faith (i, 20). These principles are often exemplified in the laws of the Empire. The good prince, whose chief aim is to please God (i, 21), merits a great reward because of his efforts to 'save' his fellowmen by word and deed (i, 20).[2]

Giraldus believed that the Kings of France in his day were the best princes. They did not rage among their people as would bears or lions, but were courteous and amiable. They were modest in their successes. Their oaths were not blasphemous. They were just in their relations and beyond question in their moral standards. They did not gain their power through violent turmoil, and they left it to their successors without disorder. An eternal reward will be theirs (iii, 30).

In the actual work of the administration the prince should exercise forethought, and encourage agriculture, architecture, commerce, mechanical arts, manufacture of wool and linen, etc., to keep the staples of life well supplied (i, 12). Giraldus also believed in a virile 'preparedness.' The encouragement of the arts just mentioned, together with the construction of city defenses, the training of soldiery, the manufacture of munitions, and the employment of field maneuvers are a peacetime defense against war. This, after all, is only after the example of the ant who gathers its winter store in summer (i, 12).

[1] Claudian, *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, 302.

[2] Giraldus cites many such good rulers beginning with Moses and continuing with other Biblical and Roman Imperial names down to the time of Arthur and his own day. This occupies pages 122–133 in Warner's edition. Cf. i, 18, pp. 76–103, for another list of praiseworthy princes and the ends that were theirs.

In legal administration the prince shall take care to be just. Justice breaks incipient attacks against the prince and keeps him and the state in security. It is the binding substance of society, and, by 'assigning and preserving for each man his own position' (i, 10),[1] adjusts differences even out of the law courts; e.g., the different social conditions that will arise from success or failure in business. In the enforcement of the law, justice should be tempered with mercy (i, 10), although new laws should be rigorously carried out to make them felt at once (i, 10). A sick limb is not immediately amputated before less heroic measures are employed. Neither should capital punishment be the first resort in the correction of disorder (i, 7 and 10). Giraldus advocates a gradation of punishment. 'A good prince who is concerned in bringing force upon the wrongdoings of certain men will now imprison them, now inflict bodily pain upon them, and sometimes even cut off a bit of their flesh. Only when he has exhausted all other remedies will the prince have recourse to the supreme penalty' (i, 10).[2]

'It is better . . . to be loved than to be feared by subjects. Yet it is essential to be feared somewhat, provided that the fear is engendered in admiration and not coercion; for whatever is loved in tender affection must of consequence also be feared. What is feared, however, is not at once loved. Therefore, let fear be tempered with love, but in such a way that unbounded liberality does not become inextricably involved in carelessness, nor fear which has been aroused through overbearing rigidity be made [an opportunity for] tyranny' (i, 2).

Giraldus seems not to have committed himself to an opinion on tyrannicide beyond this: '*Percussori uero tyranni non quidem poena, sed palma promittitur*' (i, 16); but he quotes a great many examples

[1] The evil practice of despoiling the property and cargo of ships that were wrecked calls forth a strong protest from Giraldus. He points to the old English laws of shipwreck, in which such property as was recovered went to the survivors of the disaster. But he believes that the laws of the ancients contribute something more. Plundering from the salvaged goods had to be repaid four-fold. The existing conditions he believed to be intolerable (i, 20).

[2] Again Giraldus has drawn his ideas from French practice, which he refers to us as '*laudabilis et digna memoria dispensatio.*' The first offense merits flogging; the second is punished by branding the face or cutting off a lobe of the ear; and the third by blinding or death (i, 10).

of tyrants who have all come to a bloody end (i, 17 passim). At all events, the fate of tyrants is hard and they flourish for a while, but for a while only (iii, 31). With this Giraldus closes his final chapter.

Gilbert of Tournai [1]

Gilbert is quite clear as to the prince's position and duties. He accepts the idea of monarchy without question, and believes in hereditary succession (i, 2, 11). The prince should be able to raise himself mentally to a point where he can see the evils of his realm in their true perspective, and thus correct them (ii, 1, 3). He should even be acute enough to detect those committed under cover of secrecy (ii, 1, 4), for one of the chief functions of the prince is the abolishment and prevention of evils within the state (ii, 1, 1–3; ii, 2, 1). The prince should be inspired to these duties by a worthy regard for his position (ii, 2, 1).

Humility is one of the most essential qualities in a prince (i, 2, 9), and he should be virtuous (i, 1, 10), for his wicked acts are copied by everyone (i, 2, 2). The prince should love his subjects, and generally look out for their welfare (iii, 1; iii, 2), not only because it is right to do so, but also because it makes his own position more secure (iii, 3). Great wealth and avarice are to be shunned, because they obscure the glory of the kingdom (i, 2, 4). The end to be gained is a state in which the subjects may live in peace with their neighbors and in harmony with each other (iii, 6). Education and the study of the learned letters must be carefully planned for (i, 2, 5). In the establishment of this good order the prince should be guided by councilors who are upright, not susceptible to bribery, and free from the bonds of greed (i, 2, 6).

Gilbert has quite a bit on laws and legal procedure. Divine law is the foundation of human law (i, 2, 5; ii, 1, 5). Therefore, if a law

[1] Died 1270. Gilbert of Tournai wrote his *Eruditio Regum et Principum*, in three epistles, at the request of St Louis (Louis IX of France) in 1259. Among the sources of his treatise is the *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais, with whom Gilbert was a contemporary; the *Policraticus* of Salisbury; the church fathers, ancient philosophers, and the general list of Roman authors. The text is printed by A. de Poorter, *Le Traité Eruditio Regum et Principum de Gilbert de Tournai*, in 'Les Philosophes Belges,' Vol. IX (1914), with a full introduction. Cf. Felix Lajard in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XIX (1838), 138–142.

is unjust, it is not a true law and should be abolished (ii, 1, 5–6). The prince is not subject to the law. But this is not so that he may do wrong with impunity. It is to be hoped that, free from fear of punishments, he will act from a love of justice and service to the state (ii, 1, 5). Among the chief causes of evil are gambling (i, 2, 1), hypocrisy (ii, 1, 16–17), especially when the clergy are the offenders (ii, 1, 12–15), and bribery of officials not to notice misdeeds at the court. This last is so serious that mere 'winking at' court corruption is a grievous matter (ii, 1, 8). Justice is always to be strictly enforced although punishments are to be meted out humanely (ii, 2, 3; ii, 2, 4, and 7–8). The prince should realize that clemency does not weaken justice (iii, 4). However, officials should be punished more severely than the average man, because they know the law better (ii, 2, 8). The procedure of a trial is as follows: Both plaintiff and defendant shall be sworn. If the former refuses to take oath, the case shall be dismissed; if the latter, he shall be judged guilty. In the trial the judges should take plenty of time, but should also try to prevent cases continuing for more than two or three years (ii, 2, 4). Witnesses should be preferred to evidence, since the judges have an opportunity to examine and question them (ii, 2, 5).[1]

'A prince in the exercise of mildness bears the image of God, but the tyrant, relying upon tyranny, prefers him who from the first chose the title of 'Homicide' (iii, 6). 'The difference between a prince and a tyrant is this: the latter rages with worldly pleasure and licentiousness unrestrained; the prince acts only through necessity and for a reason' (iii, 1, 3). The good prince should do all he can by his personal acts to avoid the condition of tyranny, and allow his subjects to dwell in peace and prosperity (iii, 1, 6).

Thomas Aquinas[2]

Man is a social and political animal (i, 1), and therefore it is necessary to have the organization of society, with someone at the head (i, 1; cf. *Sum. Theol.* 1^{a}, 2^{ae} quaes. 96, art. 4). This Aquinas

[1] Not every case should be accepted in the courts, according to Gilbert's ideas (ii, 2, 6).

[2] Born 1226; died 1274. The *De Regimine Principum* was written for the King of Cyprus (probably Hugh III, who died in 1267) about 1265–66. The work, which is in four books, is commonly considered to be Aquinas' only as far as ii, 4. This short treatise does not cover all the political ideas of Aquinas, but nothing of really vital importance is omitted. Although

illustrates by the organic analogy, and the commonplace of the social life of the bees (i, 2; cf. 1, 3 and 12; *Com. Polit.*, iii, 12). All other creatures have their necessities of life created for them, but man has to provide his own. Since it is not possible for each individual to do everything for himself, the community developed (i, 1; cf. iv, 3 and 4; *Com. Polit.*, iii, 5). According to Aquinas, the rule of *one* has been proved best by practice (i, 2; cf. 1, 5–6),[1] and consequently that form of government which has the least evil in it should be chosen (i, 5). Those states not governed by a single prince have to endure many misfortunes and internal dissensions (i, 2). However, Aquinas does not advocate an absolute and unqualified monarchy (i, 6; cf. *Sum. Theol.*, 1^a, 2^{ae}, quaes. 90, arts. 3 and 4).[2] *Dominium politicum* in the original state of innocence was best (ii, 8–9). But *dominium regale* (ii, 9; cf. iii, 11) under present conditions is most advantageous (*in natura corrupta regimen regale est fructuosius*).[3]

overshadowed by his greater works, it has had wide popularity, having been translated into French, Spanish, Italian, and German. A new French translation of the authentic portion was published at Paris in 1926. A separate edition (with the *De Regimine Iudaeorum*) was published at Turin in 1924. I have used the text of the *Opera Omnia* (Parma, 1852–71), XVI (1864), 224–290. Cf. Janet, *op. cit.*, I, 367–402, espec. 381 ff.; and Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 191–207. J. J. Baumann, *Die Stadtslehre des H. Thomas von Aquino*, Leipzig, 1873, has a translation of Bks i, and ii, 1–4, with a discussion of selections from the *De Regimine Iudaeorum;* the Commentary on Aristotle's Politics; the *Summa Theologica;* and the *Summa contra Gentiles.* C. A. Bosone, *Der Aufsatz 'De Regimine Principum' von Thomas von Aquinas*, Bonn diss., 1894, is a chapter by chapter summary of the four books with notes and discussion.

[1] I, 1–11 are devoted to the general subject of the necessity, preference, and advantage of a monarchy for both the prince and the people. All dominion is based on the example of God, the *one* ruler of the universe (iii, 1–6). Aquinas thus defines the term prince. 'Him we call a prince, to whom the *summa regiminis* in human affairs has been committed' (i, 14; cf. i, 1). Some of the duties of a prince are summed up in i, 12, and the best ways of ruling the state in i, 14-15. The idea of peace, unity, and harmony as requisites of a good state is elaborated by the later writers.

[2] Cf. *Sum. Theol.* 1^a, 2^{ae}, quaes. 105, art. 2, where Aquinas says a monarchy is best, but since it is hard to get a good prince, a limited monarchy is therefore necessary; and 1^a, 2^{ae}, quaes. 105, art. 1: 'In the good direction of princes in any state or people, two things must be present: all should have a share in the principate, for this preserves the peace of the people ... Whence the best form of principate is in a state in which one man is the head ... ; under him are some others of authority, but nevertheless such a principate belongs to everyone, not only because these men *can* be chosen by all, but because they *are* so chosen. Such is the organization of every polity that is a combination of monarchy, in so far as that one man rules; an aristocracy, in so far as that many have ruling authority; and a democracy, that is, power of the people, in so far that the prince can be chosen by the common people, and the election of princes is a function of the people.'

[3] Cf. iv, 8. 'There are certain provinces of a servile nature. Such ought to be governed

Peace is an indispensable requisite for the attainment of good through social organization (i, 2), and this peace can only be attained through the efforts of a good prince (i, 15), following, to the best of his ability, the ways of God (i, 13). 'A true and perfect polity is like a physical body functioning properly, in which the organs are in perfect condition. If supreme virtue, which is reason (*ratio*), controls the lower powers . . . then there results a calmness and perfect affinity of the forces one to the other. This is called harmony' (iv, 23). It is clear then, that the members of a community are unlike as individuals, but are one in the common association (i, 1; cf. *Sum. Theol.* 1^a, 2^{ae} quaes. 96, art. 4). The prince looks out for the common good (i, 1; cf. *Com. Polit.*, iii, 6).

There are three main obstacles to the permanent existence and good order of the state. By nature, man can not endure long in this life. This the prince should offset by care in training the younger generation to replace the previous one (i, 15). A second difficulty is caused by 'radicals' or chronic objectors. The corrective for them is found in laws, precepts, and punishments to check the existing trouble and to forestall similar conditions in the future (i, 15). The third is for external causes such as war. The only protection in that case is to guard against all possible enemies. In addition the prince should do his best to keep firm the bonds of peace and mutual good will within the state, and to provide for the essentials of a normal life (i, 15).

It is the work of a prince to rule his subjects well (i, 8), for he is in the state what the soul is in the body, and God is in the universe

by a despotic government, including in despotic, *regale*. Those men, however, who are of strong character, bold in heart, and reliant upon their own intelligence, cannot be ruled except by a *dominium politicum*.' On the importance of this whole distinction, and its later development, see Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xli, xlii. John Fortescue, in his *The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (written after 1471), goes one step further and says that there are two forms of government especially to be considered — *dominium regale* and *dominium politicum et regale* (I–IV). In the former, the people are ruled by laws which are made by the prince alone without their consent (II). In the second (and better) form, the people's assent is essential (I). But if the prince is a good prince, this form is really advantageous for him, for he 'may thereby the more sewery do Justice, than by his owne Arbitriment' (II). But if the prince rules *per ius regale*, and his people are subjected to dire oppression, it is really a state of tyranny (IV).

(i, 12).[1] Nothing is more fitting for a prince than magnanimity (i, 7), and he should consider the friendship of his people the best thing to achieved be (i, 10). The prince should realize that glory is not the only reward he will achieve as a result of his good administration. In fact it is a thing scorned by the Christian philosophers. The true reward will come from God (i, 7–9).

If the prince has the task — or privilege — of instituting a new state, he should carefully select a region that is fertile, suited for cities, towns, universities, camps, military maneuvers, and business, with places for religious worship and law courts (i, 13). The climate should be temperate (ii, 1), healthful (ii, 2), and favorable to the abundant farming of food-stuffs (ii, 3). The region should also be attractive in natural beauty (ii, 4), with a natural wealth of vines, groves, forests (ii, 5), with large herds of cattle and draft animals (ii, 6). Dependence upon commerce for the staples of life is a great evil (ii, 5). In his administration the prince should have sufficient wealth to carry on the various departments of the government properly (ii, 7; cf. i, 14; ii, 5).[2] In this he should be aided by ministers carefully selected with regard to the kind of state they will serve (ii, 8 and 10). The prince should have his own system of coinage, which should be kept stable. From this much good will come, and not the least will be sound commercial standards (ii, 13). A standard system of weights and measures should also be established (ii, 14). Roads and highways are to be kept open and safe. That will do much to promote internal peace and also to stimulate commerce (ii, 12).

Aquinas devotes some time to a discussion of tyranny (i, 3, 6, 9–11; cf. ii, 9; iii, 9), which he believes is more liable to come from democracy than from monarchy (i, 5).[3] The opportunity for tyranny

[1] The government of the universe (and therefore of the state) is likened to the good navigation of a ship, in which the pilot brings it safely to the right port (i, 14).

[2] The poor should be provided for from the public treasury (ii, 15).

[3] This is in accord with the general ideas of both Plato and Aristotle. Perhaps the best way to illustrate is by diagram. 1 equals the best form of government; 2 equals the medium; 3 equals the poorest.

Good Conditions	*Bad Conditions*
1 Monarchy	3 Tyranny
2 Aristocracy	2 Oligarchy
3 Polity (democracy)	1 Democracy

is to be carefully guarded by tempering the prince's original power (i, 6). A prince voids the mutual agreement of defense and support with his people by his acts of tyranny (i, 6),[1] and therefore tyrannicide is justifiable (i, 6; cf. i, 7–11). But no move should be made against the tyrant except by public authority, for all order would be overthrown if private citizens could commit homicide on the grounds of tyranny (i, 6). At all events tyrants seriously err in forsaking the care of justice for mundane powers (i, 10), for they only store up more charges against themselves (i, 11). The reward of a good prince will not only be of this world, but will be in Heaven (i, 9).

William Perrault [2]

The state is comparable to a mountain which is so great that it is hardly visited by God. Even if He did 'visit it with the waters of His grace, it would be dried up by the evil winds' (i, 1). Consequently some one must be placed over it, not for his own private good, but for the good of the people (i, 1). This princely power is

If a monarch is ruling well, there is no chance for dissention, and all is peaceful. If a tyranny is set up, only one man gets the good of all things (cf. i, 3), and that is obviously the worst possible situation. If an aristocracy rules, they will be inclined to act in accordance with the desires of a few; the same will be true under an oligarchy. In a polity, where everyone is concerned in the outcome of events, if the rule is perverted, the 'good' is still distributed to the greatest number of people, because everyone is trying to satisfy selfish ends. Therefore it is the best of poor conditions. In the midst of all this dissension, a tyrant may easily set himself up as the champion and organizer of the confused state of affairs, thereby usurping *all* the power before the people realize it. Once having gained this position, he holds it through the power of fear (i, 3). In either a monarchy or an aristocracy conditions are too stable and severely organized to readily permit of such usurpation. It must be remembered that Aquinas favors a *limited* monarchy (i, 14).

[1] '. . . hoc ipse meruit, in multitudinis regimine se non fideliter gerens, ut exigit regis officium, quod ei pactum a subditis non reservetur.' Again Aquinas has sounded a note which was greatly to be enlarged upon in later centuries.

[2] Born ——?; died *ca.* 1275. Perrault's *De Eruditione Principum* in seven books was attributed to Thomas Aquinas, among whose works it is included. His treatise is more methodical than that of Aquinas. Bk i deals with the things in general that pertain to the prince; ii, with his relation to God and the church; iii, to himself; iv, to his immediate followers; v, to his children and family; vi, to his subjects; and vii, to his enemies. Bk v, which constitutes nearly half the work, is really a treatise on education for the sons and daughters of nobles. Chapters 9–36, 44, 47–48 are devoted to the proper training and marriage responsibilities (or the alternative of celibacy) for boys. The same subjects are treated for girls in chaps. 49–67. The treatise is the usual mine of classical and Biblical citations. The text I have used is that in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera Omnia* (Parma, 1852–71), XVI (1864), opus c. XXXVII, 390–476. Cf. Petit-Radel in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XIX (1838), 307–316.

rather to be feared than sought, because of the perils, trials, brevity, and temptations. '*Arundinea est haec potestas; exterius habet nitorem; interius uacuitatem*' (i, 1). From all of this the author arrives at the natural conclusion — the prince is not to despise his subjects, for he gets his lofty place from them alone. Here the organic analogy appears again: the head is higher than the rest of the body and the body is ruled by it. But it is the body after all that sustains the head (i, 6).

The prince should often stop to think what he is, who he is, and what sort of creature he is (iii, 6).[1] He should be of good character (vi, 7), mild (vi, 1), truthful (i, 7; i, 13; vi, 1), just in his relations with his subjects, and content with his income (vi, 1). He should always act so as to be a pattern for his subjects (vi, 7). Above all he should not be so concerned with the welfare of others that he neglects the care of himself (iii, 1) — the greatest triumph is self conquest (v, 37) — for evil in the prince is widely diffused by his wicked example (vi, 7). He is culpable who neglects the formation of his character in his youth (v, 7). He should be free from all vices (iii, 2), and especially avoid too great leisure (iii, 7). Youth is the time for study (v, 4). Among the many virtues requisite to a prince are humility (iii, 7–9; v, 31), the avoidance of arrogance (i, 6) as the best means of avoiding vices in general (vi, 8), devotion (*pietas*) to his people (i, 15), compassion (i, 15), and patience with the weaknesses of others (vii, 2; v, 34). The prince should guard against wrath as a grave danger, and therefore avoid irascible advisers who will arouse him (vii, 5); he should be especially lenient in punishing injuries directed against himself (i, 14), for clemency makes the difference between a prince and a tyrant (i, 14). On the other hand the prince should be very severe against incendiaries who cause so many evils, not only by their original act, but by its consequences (vii, 10). Yet homicide is to be feared and guarded against (vii, 11), and the life of a sinner is not to be taken except under sanction of divine law (vii, 12). Above all the prince should be wise, so that he may know how to use his power, for the greatness of power is not

[1] ii, 13 is devoted to selections from many diverse authors on the prerequisites in the character of a good prince.

in its magnitude, but in its laudable application (i, 2); and the task of the prince is not to burden, but to help his people (i, 2). He should season his bravery with prudence for the same reason (iii, 4), and likewise guard his tongue (v, 18–21).

Only from a good man can good deeds come (i, 3). Fear of God is essential to the good prince (iii, 8–11). Much good will result from early association with the works of God (v, 5). Faith is needed in all men, but especially in the prince (ii, 1–3), and likewise hope (ii, 5–7). Vanity of temporal things should not be valued, but regarded as the least of the 'goods' to which a prince should aspire (i, 8)— including vanity of wealth (i, 9), pleasure (i, 10), glory and praise (i, 12; vii, 4), and favor (i, 11). The dignity of his position should make the prince humble rather than proud (i, 6). The prince 'must greatly fear prosperity, that is to the unwary what fire is to wax, what the sun is to snow or ice' (iii, 7). He should not tax too severely (vi, 3). Especially must he guard against plundering habits in himself, his associates, and lower officials (iv, 5–6). This calls down the wrath of God (iv, 7–8). Some princes are so disliked that they do not dare to go about their own cities unarmed — a most deplorable condition (i, 1).

The prince should be loved by his people rather than feared (i, 6; vi, 7), and give of his own goods readily to help them, protecting them from evils and oppressions (vi, 7). The general principle of all this may be summed up in 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' (Matth. xxii), and is substantiated by reference to nature, the fraternal nature of man, for '*nihil tam discordiosum uitio, tam sociale natura, quem genus humanum*' (quoted from St Augustine), and the example of Christ himself (ii, 12). True nobility consists in the absence of ignobility and shameful servitude; in shunning evil; giving freely and liberally, devotion to good men (cf. iii, 3); severity to rebels; scorn for small things; interest in the great; and freedom from all vain terrors (i, 5). The prince should realize that unto the poor was given the Kingdom of Heaven (i, 15). From such a relation as outlined there will be mutual faith and dependence between the prince and his subjects (vi, 4).

When the prince marries, he should choose his wife with great

care, for if he errs in this selection, it is serious to all (v, 27). His wife should be his equal (v, 28), and together they should look after the education of their family (v, 3), for the neglect of parents in this regard is the cause of lack of interest in things worth while (v, 2).[1] Equal care is to be exercised in the selection of companions, on the basis of reliability, habits, and congeniality (v, 42–43). All undesirable associates are to be kept away (iv, 40). The three evils to which youth is most prone are arrogant impetuosity, luxurious extravagance, and lasciviousness (v, 45). From earliest youth care should be taken to guard against these by a consistent and progressive program beginning with the simplest things such as dress, speech, and manners, and ending with preparation for marriage (v, 12–22). Especial care and restraint are to be devoted to the prince's daughters who are to receive all the training essential for a 'perfect lady' (v, 49). This is partly to be achieved through the use of the learned letters — but at all events these young ladies must be kept busy at something (v, 50).[2]

The prince should have about him such men as he can trust with his secrets (iv, 2), and if possible a philosopher to help his course through life, as Alexander had Aristotle, and Nero Seneca (i, 2) — but with better results we hope.

It should be a special care to the prince to see that his ministers are of the right sort, for if they corrupt him by their evil advice, the harm is not to the prince alone (iv, 1). He should guard against the entertaining of false accusations against his subjects by these officers (iv, 4), and against their corruption by bribery and other means (iv, 4). In the case of the judges, special care must be exercised (iv, 3). Some of the most frequent (and flagrant) vices of the prince and his ministers are pillaging, arrogance, false simplicity, oppression of the weak to win the great, and cruelty (iv, 9).

The prince should be ready at all times to ask counsel as well as to give it; to be able to choose his advisers well; to evaluate their advice; and, if found to be good, to make use of it (iv, 2). Before

[1] When the tutor is selected, he should be one who is careful of his manners (v, 11), and who leads an honorable life, with lofty ideals, eloquence and skill in his profession (v, 9).

[2] This recalls the solicitude of Charlemagne, as told by Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, chap. 19.

any definite act, he should first consider the possibility, the expediency, and the suitability of his plan (iii, 5). It is very important for a prince to think before acting: it checks possible excesses, orders the plans, makes his life honorable (iii, 4). Especially is this forethought necessary in the matter of making war. War is to be avoided if possible, because of the countless evils that result from it — burning, plundering, theft, reduction of the poor to thievery, and defilement of their women (vii, 8). Most of the burdens fall on the poor commoners who have done nothing to deserve such afflictions (vii, 8).

The prince should be good in the fullest significance of the word. The wicked prince is a creature of the forsaken one, and his punishment will be poverty, diminution or entire loss of his realm, oppression at the hands of greater princes, and future punishment with the loss of the Kingdom of Heaven (vi, 6).

Aegidius Romanus [1]

Aegidius is much more definite than some of his predecessors in his ideas of the state and of the 'perfect prince.' Hereditary monarchy, he believes, is the best form of government (iii, 1, 2; iii, 2, 5), just as tyranny is the worst (iii, 2, 7). Aristocracy is placed second (iii, 2, 4), and democracy last.[2] Very interesting is Aegidius' belief in the benefits that come from the establishment of cities and towns (iii, 1, 1; iii, 2, 31); namely, convenience in procuring the necessities of life, the enjoyment of a full life, and the use of laws. He also understood the value of a strong middle class (iii, 2, 31). This prevents the evils that arise from the great contrast between the very rich and the very poor; and makes possible for all a life according to reason and law.

[1] Born 1247; died 1316. Aegidius, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas at Paris, wrote the *De Regimine Principum* in three books, at the request of Philip the Fair, *ca.* 1287. Upon his succession, Philip ordered the work translated into French. The treatise is a clear and more complete expression of the ideas of Aquinas, who died before he had completed his own work. There have been numerous editions of Aegidius' treatise. Of these, the edition of the French text by S. P. Molenaer in 1899, under the title, *Les Livres du Gouvernement des Rois; a XIII Century Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De Regimine Principum, now first published from the Kerr MSS*, is the most easily accessible and is here cited. Cf. Janet, *op. cit.*, I, 402–410; and Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 207–212.

[2] He also disapproves of 'communism' (iii, 1, 4).

The perfect prince for this state must have many virtues. In fact he should be endowed with *all* virtues (i, 2, 27). The prince must be prudent (i, 2, 6–8). As a means of attaining this virtue, the prince should ponder deeply over the affairs of his realm, and abstain as far as possible from *'tout les jieus et les recreacions et les esbatemenz'* (i, 2, 9). He should be dignified, sympathetic, kindly (i, 2, 28–29), and truthful; and, if he has this last quality, he will not be boastful (i, 2, 30). He should also be energetic, vigorous, and ready to encourage pleasures among his people (i, 2, 31). He should also be just (i, 2, 10), for without justice the state could not exist (i, 2, 11–12). Yet justice should be tempered with mercy (iii, 2, 13). The prince should be courageous (i, 2, 13–14), but should not become rash (i, 3, 6). Moderation in all things, especially physical, is very important (i, 2, 15–16). Yet generosity is not to be excluded — although it must be carefully guarded so as not to become a vice (i, 2, 17–21) — because it wins the love of the people. The prince should be magnanimous and munificent in his undertakings. These virtues inspire the possessor to great things, and prevent discouragement and misfortune (i, 2, 22–23). He should love honor (i, 2, 24), but at the same time not forget to be humble (i, 2, 25–26), and be on friendly terms with his subjects (iii, 2, 34). However, he should at all times be so dignified and worthy of respect that his authority be not diminished (iii, 2, 9). As a result of this attitude, the people should obey their prince and his laws. From this will come a condition of peace (iii, 2, 32–33).

In his home, which should be such as becomes his station, but not too elaborate (ii, 3, 1–8), the prince should be master just as he is in the state (ii, 3, 11–18), but his wife should be his equal and well endowed with 'temporal, physical, and spiritual goods.' She should be such an one that she may share the prince's secrets and help him with advice (ii, 1, 9–21). Toward his children the prince should be affectionate, but should devote his especial attention to their welfare (ii, 2, 1–18).[1]

All men, and princes in particular, should love the common good and not merely their own advancement (i, 3, 3). They should desire

[1] The training of his daughters receives especial attention (ii, 2, 19–21).

only the welfare of the state (i, 3, 4–5). Princes should work diligently to see that their states are so ordered that their subjects may enjoy the highest benefits — virtue, knowledge, and temporal goods (iii, 2, 8–9). Wise men and enlightened priests should be encouraged to settle in the state, so that education may be widely diffused (iii, 2, 8).

Princes should be powerful enough to keep off enemies from their realms,[1] but should not enlarge their territory by injuring others (iii, 2, 9). As a means of preventing internal disorder, in addition to these things already named, the prince should not allow small fortresses to be built within his realm; should respect, however, the position of all his people; should choose the best men for his officials, and move them about frequently; should keep the country well policed; and above all, should learn from experience, and never repeat a mistake once made (iii, 2, 13).

Aegidius devotes some space to the subject of law (iii, 2, 18–19). The laws of a state are to be established in accordance with the customs of the peoples (iii, 2, 24). Natural law differs from the law of men in that the former recognizes the offense, the latter defines the degree of guilt and punishment (iii, 2, 23). To be effective, the laws must be promulgated (iii, 2, 25), and once so published, must be observed (iii, 2, 28). Nor should they be rashly amended (iii, 2, 29). In rendering judgment, the judges should not be swayed by private inclinations (iii, 2, 19), or emotions (iii, 2, 18), but realize that the law is the basis of judgment, for it would not have been created unless there was need for it (iii, 2, 18). But withal, justice should be tempered with leniency and compassion (iii, 2, 20).

We may conclude with one of the most important of Aegidius' suggestions. The prince should surround himself with wise men and councillors. Their advice should be given in private and after due deliberation. Above all they should speak the truth even though it may not please the prince. It is not enough for these councillors to be wise — they must be practical, and should spend their time

[1] Aegidius gives a rather elaborate summary of Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, in iii, 3, 1–22. From this it is obvious that he expects his prince to be a good general, as well as a good peace-time ruler.

only on the bigger problems of the state, such as the collection of the income and the preservation of wealth; commerce, especially in providing food for cities and towns; trade laws; maintenance of internal order; declaration of war; and the formulating of laws (iii, 2, 14–17). Under such a plan, with a good prince, we may hope for the best.

Jaques de Cessoles [1]

De Cessoles believes in an hereditary monarchy. 'It is better to have princes through the succession of primogeniture than through election or the desire of princes' (ii, 2). Often there is dissension in the election, or the one so elected won his place through private interests and not through general good. Since the prince is the head and heart of all, everyone has from him whatever they possess and are subject to his royal dignity (iv, 2). If all went about their own interests without any united action at all, the whole kingdom would be lost (iv, 2). '*Regis sine regno nomen uacuum est et inane*' (iv, 2). Furthermore, violent rule can not persist. Therefore it is necessary that the first-born especially be educated to the ways of goodness, morality, and proper deeds (ii, 2).

This prince should realize that it is unjust to attempt to rule others if he can not first control himself (i, 3; cf. iii, 6), but that the

[1] Date of birth and death unknown. It has been conjectured that his work (the title varies), *De Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium super Ludo Scaccorum*, was written about 1300. The author tells us in his introduction that he has the three-fold purpose of '*regis correctio; otii euitatio; rationum subtilium multiplex inuentio.*' The work is divided into four parts: i is taken up with the origin of the game; ii with five chapters on the various pieces, i.e., King, Queen, etc.; iii with eight chapters on the common pieces; iv with eight chapters on the actual playing movements. On this background de Cessoles gives his own ideas on political theory. Most of the work (like the others of its day) is taken up with quotations from classical antiquity and earlier medieval writers. It seems to have enjoyed a great popularity in Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century. The first edition was in 1473, and was followed shortly by others in 1479, 1497, 1505. The work was translated into German in 1337; French, 1347 and 1350; English by Caxton, 1474 (from the French); Dutch, 1479; Italian, 1493. There were a number of others, the latest of which seems to be that in Italian in 1829. De Cessoles' work seems to have been adapted (or imitated) by Ingold, a German Dominican, in his *Gulden-Spil*. Another work (written apparently without knowledge of de Cessoles' work) is that of Marco Aurelio Severino, *La Filosophe degli Scacchi* . . . Naples, 1690. I have used the text edited (with critical notes) by Ernst Köpke in *Mittheilungen aus dem Handschriften der Ritter-Akademie zu Brandenburg A. H.* (Brandenburg, 1879). Cf. Felix Lajard in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXV (1869), 9–41.

'glory of a people is in the dignity of the ruler' (ii, 1). All perfection should exist throughout the whole state, but the *summa* in those who counsel the prince and the state (iv, 4).

A prince should be just (ii, 5), for the sake of doing right, and also because, if he is too unjust, his subjects will not support him in time of need and he will lose everything (iv, 2). He should be especially careful never to break an oath (ii, 1), realizing that truth with compassion and justice are the mainstays of his throne (ii, 1). The prince should do nothing strenuous or of a doubtful character before consultation (iv, 4). He should be clement (ii, 1), and merciful in his victories (ii, 4), remembering, as Seneca tells us, that the 'king' bee is without sting (ii, 5). He should be patient (ii, 5), and affable in his manner, for that endears him to the people (ii, 5); and ready and eager to listen to the corrections and suggestions made to him (i, 3). The study of letters is useful and essential to a prince (ii, 2), for '*omnis sapiens liber est et omnis stultus seruus*' (iii, 1). It is the part of a wise man to do nothing he would repent (iii, 2). Too much leisure is one of the greatest causes of this trouble (ii, 1), for nothing is so strong that it cannot fall a prey even to the weak (i, 3).

Avarice is the worst thing that can beset a prince (iii, 4 *passim*). Voluntary frugality (*paupertas*) was at one time highly esteemed (ii, 5). Prodigality, on the other hand, is ultimately a cause of ruin (iii, 8). Furthermore the prince should realize that 'the more famous he becomes, the more burdened with cares and worries will he be' (ii, 5), for envy follows on glory (ii, 5). All the acts of his ministers, whether he knows of them or not, are attributed to him alone (ii, 5).

The prince should have only one wife, and should devote all his attentions to her, his children, their education, with preparations for his succession (ii, 1). The queen should be chosen from a good family, of good character, and such a one as will bear successors to the realm (ii, 2), and be capable of directing their training, both moral and educational (ii, 2).

The prince's counsellors are the judges. It is their task 'to advise the prince, formulate laws in accordance with his directions, to

sustain the whole state, to interpret the law, to render decisions just and equitable without regard to the parties in the case . . .' (ii, 3). With them, then, rests the hope of the prince in securing internal peace and harmony (ii, 3). They are to be firm and steadfast, unmoved by love, hate, anger, or family ties (ii, 3), for from inequality of legal restrictions come civil wars and social disorders in general (ii, 3).[1] Evil doers should be severely dealt with, for 'in this should justice exist. What are states without justice except companies of brigands?' (ii, 1).

The other officers, and the duties and responsibilities of the commoners are treated in chapter ii, 4 and iii, 1–8.[2] One general statement in regard to them will suffice, since our interest is primarily in the prince. 'Let no one scorn the common people, for [some of them] have attained to the highest places, both temporal and spiritual' (iv, 7).

Anonymous, *Liber de Informatione Principum*,[3] and *Speculum Dominarum*[4]

The *Liber de Informatione Principum* is divided into four parts, which treat respectively of the excellence of royal dignity, and the virtues most essential in a prince; the obligation of the prince to

[1] Here de Cessoles brings in the figure of laws as a spider web, which has been quoted in detail under Occleve, pp. 499 ff. below.

[2] These sections treat in detail of the knights, the farmers, the smiths, notaries, city officers, merchants, etc., and occupy pages 9–12 and 16–30 (half the treatise) in Köpke's edition.

[3] Written between 1297 and 1314, perhaps for the sons of Philip the Fair. This work seems to have been hardly less famous among its contemporaries than the treatise of Aegidius Romanus, under whose name a French translation was issued in the reign of Francis I. Many manuscript-copies are still extant. The material here given is from the article by Leopold Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXXI (1893), 35–47.

[4] Delisle assigns this work, otherwise referred to anonymously, to Durand du Champagne, who died in 1340. The *Speculum Dominarum* is dedicated to '*Dominae Johannae Dei gratia illustrissimae reginae Franciae et Navarrae*,' who is probably the wife of Philip the Fair. Since she died in 1305, the treatise was probably written *ca.* 1300. Other possible recipients of this treatise might be Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Charles the Long, who died in 1329; and Jeanne d'Evreux, wife of Charles the Fair, who died in 1371. While intended primarily 'for the use of all women,' this treatise also has something to say on the training and qualities of the prince. It abounds in the usual commonplaces of Scriptural citation and quotations from the church and pagan writers. Although widely known in its own day, it seems to have lost its vogue in the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The account of this work is also known to me only from the article of Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXX (1888), 302–330, especially 311–329.

himself, his wife, his children, his parents, and his subjects; the wisdom of a prince; and the administration of justice. Like most works of its day it lacks originality, and is the usual storehouse of citations to the Scriptures and classical antiquity.

Among the requisites of a prince should be an interest in the church on earth; a desire to erect monasteries and churches (i, 26); and a restraint from plundering and despoiling as the princes of the day were doing. The prince should also assist the poor among the ex-soldiers, and the widows; he should also visit the monasteries; give alms to the needy; provide means of education for the young; and furnish doweries for poor girls (i, 30). He should realize that the *summa iustitia* is an indispensable quality of the prince (iv, 20), and that this embraces justice to God (iv, 21), himself (iv, 22), and his fatherland (iv, 23). He is to avoid carelessness (iv, 25) and cruelty (iv, 26), realizing that clemency does not lessen the efficacy of justice (iv, 27). This is both distributive and reflex in its effects (iv, 29–30), and should be enforced swiftly and without delays (iv, 28). These last chapters are almost a complete parallel to chapters 22–29 in Part iii of the *Speculum Dominarum*.

This treatise, the *Speculum*, is divided into three main divisions. Part i has one section in five chapters on the miseries of human conditions; a second, in twenty-three chapters, on the brilliant condition of the queen, by way of contrast; and a third dealing with the effect of divine grace, especially in queens. There is one chapter each on Grace, Character, Emotions, and Virtues. Part ii has thirty-two chapters on the advantages of wisdom, and especially that which comes from reading. Charlemagne is the example of the good that results from this practice. Part iii is devoted to the spiritual character of the queen.

In with this all, we get the relation, expressed or assumed, to the prince. Especially does he need education, for 'a King without training is like a fool with a sword in his hand; like an inexperienced sailor who holds the helm in the midst of storms; like a judge, ignorant of the laws, who sits in his court rendering wrong judgment.' Wisdom leads to moderation, which carries with it a long train of virtues.

Pierre du Bois [1]

While the ideas of du Bois do not come under the strictest interpretation of our subject, they are certainly closely allied. Surely his proposals on education and arbitration can only be associated with *good princes*. He points out at once that experience, prudence, and youth are not a natural combination. Therefore the prudence which comes from experience, possessed by the older men, should guide the young men (with their theoretical training) in the vigorous accomplishment of action ([iii] 2). But it is only in peace that virtue and the sciences can be fostered and developed. 'Therefore we ought to seek and ask of God a general state of peace, so that in the time of peace (it cannot be done otherwise) we may acquire perfection in qualities moral and learned. Intellectual faculties which are rational are not protected, but all too often are wiped out through the continuance of wars, discords, and civil suits as bad as wars. It is clear, then, that every good man should dispossess and shun these things, and . . . when this is not feasible, to cut them short to his utmost ability' ([xiv] 27).

The prince should be magnanimous and magnificent in the giving of donations. He should also be much braver than all others ([lxxiii] 118). Yet, if there is a war, he should not expose himself in battle. He should let his troops be led by his faithful dukes and members of his house, and not forsake the administration and needs of his whole people just to exercise personal command over a comparatively small number in the army. Besides, some men are by nature intellectually the rulers and directors of men. Their wisdom and prudence is one of quiet ([lxxiv] 119). Furthermore, the prince should be free to administer justice and judgment in person in the larger cases and problems, and to supervise his officials in the others. He should also be free to give thought to his family and the rearing and training of his children ([lxxiv] 119).

[1] Born *ca.* 1255; died *ca.* 1321. Du Bois wrote his *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* between the years 1305–07, and dedicated it to Edward I of England. The first printed text is that of Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos* II, 316–361. Cf. Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 228–229; and R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of Medieval Thought* (1884), chaps. iv–vii. The best edition is that of E. Langlois in the *Collections de Textes pour Servir à l'Etude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1891), Vol. IX.

World peace is an essential. This du Bois aimed at attaining through *international arbitration.* [1] This recommendation occurs in his discussion of the great and varied problems in connection with the crusading forces:

But when those states (*ciuitates*) and many great princes, who render justice to themselves according to the laws and customs of the places, will try to stir up controversy, before whom shall they lay the charges and conduct the litigation? One answer is to let a council order some clerics or others to be chosen as arbiters. They shall be men of wisdom, learning, and trustworthiness, who are under oath. There shall be three prelates and three laymen from each party as judges. They shall be wealthy and of such a sort that they very probably cannot be corrupted through love, hatred, fear, greed, or in any other fashion. They shall assemble at a suitable place, having been strictly bound by oath, and, having received prior to their assembly the briefs of both the plaintiffs and defendants, drawn up concisely and plainly. They shall then receive witnesses and documents and painstakingly examine them. The examination of every witness shall be in the presence of at least two sworn men of faith and prudence. The depositions shall be written and rigorously safeguarded by the judges to prevent any fraud or falsification . . . . If either party is not satisfied with the decision of these judges, the judges themselves shall send the proceedings of the whole suit, together with their opinion, to the apostolic See for change and revision by the incumbent Pope. . . . If there be no appeal, the opinion shall be sent to be established as permanent record, and recorded in the records of the Holy Roman Church ([vii] 12).[2]

Among other reforms advocated by du Bois is the reform of the feudal army ([lxxvi] 121–[lxxviii] 127). A primary duty of the king is to defend his kingdom. He may use church property, if necessary, to supply his needs to this end, if his own resources are insufficient

[1] Du Bois seems to have been the first to advocate such a measure. Cf. E. Bagdat, *La 'Querela Pacis' d'Erasme* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1924), p. 104, and note 3. Prof. Gustave Schnürer brought this out in the *Historich-politische Blätter* CXLI (1908), 279–284, at the first negotiations of the Hague Tribunal. Arbitration was also proposed by Erasmus, the great advocate of peace, in 1514, 1516, 1517. On the general subject of 'Peace,' cf. A. H. Fried, *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (2d ed., Leipzig, [1913?]), II, 'Geschichte, Umfang und Organization der Friedensbewegung.'

[2] See also sections [lviii] 99; [lix] 100, 101. Here du Bois tells us that the Pope should provide a court for the new dwellers in the Holy Land. 'If it is the right thing to labor for . . . the establishment of peace in one state . . . how much more so is it to work for the lasting peace, both temporal and spiritual, of all' (Cf. [xiv] 27; [lxvii] 108).

([lxxvii] 123). Du Bois also brings out the evil consequences of debasing the coinage of the land ([lxxxi] 135). As a corrective for social ills he recommends emigration to the new lands. He dwells considerably on the care to be exercised in the selection of city sites, etc. ([lxv] 107–[lxvi] 108).

The educational ideas of du Bois are important. He deals most with advanced training, but also touches on elementary requirements ([xlv] 71–[xlvi] 72), so that his program is quite complete. He would emphasise the study of languages, especially those of the Christian peoples, so that there may be a freer interrelation between nations, and in consequence a better understanding. The curriculum should contain the usual liberal arts, and also special courses in surgery and veterinary surgery.[1] So far the courses were to be followed by both sexes alike ([xxxviii] 61). In addition to these studies, the girls were to be taught those things which make the 'perfect woman' ([liii] 85). Most of these ideas are apparently on education in general, yet du Bois really has in mind the upper classes, and at times only the sons and daughters of the rulers.

Du Bois closes his book with the hope that everything may turn out for the best, whether by the use of his suggestions or upon better ones.

Marsiglio of Padua[2]

Marsiglio, like Dante, is most concerned with the perfect prince as a defender of his subjects against the usurpations — so he regards them — of the papacy.[3] Favoring, as he does (iii, Nos. 32–36), the

[1] For a select few, more highly specialized courses in language ([xxxvi] 59), pharmacy ([liv] 87), theology ([liv] 88), and law ([lv] 89–[lvii] 98) should be available. One of Du Bois' ideas has a distinctly 'modern' touch. Those students who, after a fair trial of academic studies, show little aptitude, are to be given a vocational training ([lii] 84).

[2] Born *ca.* 1270; died 1342? The *Defensor Pacis*, in three books, was written about 1324. We are here concerned with only a small portion of the work. It has been printed separately at various times, and is also to be found in M. Goldast, *Monarchia* (Hanover, 1612), II, 154–308, and most recently C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua*, Cambridge: University Press, 1928. Cf. Janet, *op. cit.*, I, 457–461; and Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 238–244. Most discussions of this little book do not concern the particular phase we are interested in, but see L. Stieglitz, *Die Staatstheorie des Marsilius von Padua*, etc. (Berlin, 1914), in 'Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,' No. 19.

[3] One of Dante's main interests is to prove that universal temporal empire is the only way to secure world peace and harmony (i, 5–10; ii, 3). It is only indirectly that he gives us

conciliar plan of government for the church, it is natural that he should limit the powers of the prince, though, after discussing the various forms of government in the manner of Aristotle, he still considers monarchy the best practical form (i, 8–9). However, a monarchy devoting itself to the common welfare and with the consent of the people is the ideal (i, 8). There should be only one prince, or, if more rulers are necessary, all but one should be definitely subordinate (i, 17). This prince (or indeed all of them, if there are more than one) should be chosen by election, because in this way there is more chance of getting the right kind of a ruler (i, 16). It would be an incentive to the previous ruler and his heir, who might be elected if he were desirable. Rulers under such conditions would take great pains to know their people (i, 16). The method of election could vary with different countries, but would be democratic in that either the people as a whole,[1] or by their duly chosen legislator (who might be an individual or a group) should participate (i, 15; cf. i, 12). Marsiglio makes it clear that the *primary legislator* is the entire community (i, 12). When the community delegates its authority, it should be to the learned few and men of mature years (i, 11–12). Cases will arise, however, which the laws do not cover, and to meet them, the prince will need wisdom and justice (i, 14); and as an example to his people, he must possess the moral virtues (i, 14).

The whole idea of checks upon the prince is interesting. Marsiglio maintains the possibility of suspending the prince from his position as a punishment for failure to maintain his high ideals (i, 18). This punishment will be adjudged against him as an individual subject to the laws, and not in his position of prince. The trial will be con-

any idea of what sort of person he thinks the prince who holds this power should be. However, the prince very definitely exists for the good of the state, and not the state for him (i, 13). Among the qualities the prince should possess is self-restraint. Since he has everything, he will be above desire (i, 11). He should be able to secure peace by uniting the wills of his subjects to some one single purpose (i, 15). For this particular ideal the model is the Divine Augustus, 'under whom a perfect monarchy existed,' and 'the world was everywhere at peace' (i, 16). In the administration of justice throughout the realm, the prince's share should be limited to the actual making of the laws (i, 11). This is very important, for peoples are best governed when they are left as free as possible (i, 12).

[1] Children, servants, women, and foreigners were to be excluded from voting (i, 12).

ducted according to the law, by the legislator or someone designated by the legislator (i, 18). However, rebellion against the duly elected prince is to be severely punished (i, 19).

Thomas Occleve [1]

In order to be successful the king must know his duties and his responsibilities — no archer can hit his target unless he sees it. So it is with a prince; he cannot accomplish his end unless he understands it (174).[2] Let us see then, what Occleve enjoins upon the prince:

> First and forwarde the dignitee of a Kyng
> Impressed be in the botme of your mynde;
> Consideryng how a changeable a thyng
> That office is, for so shalle ye it fynde. (78)

The exalted position of a ruler shows the real character of the prince, and the *good* in him is extolled (103). The king should be chary of his speech, with the result that his people will be eager and heedful when he does address them (87–88). The prince should remember that his burdens are not light, for he is one of the chosen few, and of them God said, '*Quem deligo, castigo.*' He should always be true to his oath, and his word alone should be worth more than the sworn oath of the common man (85). Above all he is to obey the laws:

> Prince excellent, have your lawes in chere,
> Observe hem and offende hem by no wey;

[1] Born 1370?; died 1450? The poem, *De Regimine Principis*, which contains 5460 lines of English verse, was written in the years 1411–12 and dedicated to Henry V (then Prince of Wales). The first edition is by Thomas Wright in 1860. Occleve himself tells us (Wright's edit., pp. 74–76) that his work is based on three main sources (in addition to the Bible): the *Secreta Secretorum*, a work purporting to be a letter from Aristotle to his pupil, Alexander the Great; the *De Regimine Principum* of Aegidius Romanus; and *The Game of Chess Moralized* by Jaques de Cessoles. Lines 1–2016 filling pages 1–73, are purely introductory. The poem apparently enjoyed great contemporary popularity, if we may judge by the extant MSS; but its day seems soon to have waned. Cf. H. F. Aster, *Verhältniss des altenglischen Gedichtes 'De Regimine Principum' . . . zu seinen Quellen . . .* diss., Leipzig, 1886; and A. H. Gilbert, 'Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*,' in *Speculum* III (1928), 84–98, espec. 93–98.

[2] The lines are not numbered and the references are therefore given to the pages of Wright's edition; each page contains four stanzas of seven lines each; except the first page, which contains only three stanzas.

By othe to kepe it bounden is the powere
Of Kyng, and by it is Kynges nobley
Sustened; lawe is bothe lokke and key
Of seurté; while lawe is kept in londe,
A prynce in his estate may syker stonde. (100)

In dealing with his people the prince should be patient (129), remembering that

Prudence and temperance, strengthe and ryght,
The foure ben vertues principalle. (171)

He should be of unquestioned morals, and surpass his people in virtue (130);[1] he should be continent, temperate, self-restrained (138), and magnanimous (140); he should be honorable in his administration, for

Love without a goode governaile
A Kyng hathe none . . . (173);

realizing that the avoidance of flatterers and dissuaders is essential to that end (79; cf. 109–111; 174); merciful in dealing with the less powerful (119–124), for power without mercy is tyranny (123). He should not be avaricious (161), for if he sets his aim at worldly wealth, his people will suffer in proportion (144). He should not forget, however, that although avarice is worse than prodigality (165), prodigality is likewise a great evil (158; 167). Largesses should be tempered with common sense (147–157):

Largesse mesurable unto you tye,
And foole largesse voidethe from you clene;
For free largesse is a vertuous mene. (170)

If the prince can accomplish all this, his people will have rest, peace, wealth, joy, and happiness (174).

Occleve also has something to say on justice and the laws. In the first place everyone should make it a point to try to keep his fellow man from going astray (90). Justice, he says, is of the nature of God, and is something which restrains bloodshed, punishes guilt, defends possessions, and keeps the people safe from oppression (90).

[1] Pages 130–140 are occupied with examples of the ancients, both Biblical and pagan, who have been model characters in this respect.

We have already shown that the prince should obey the laws (100). As the soul is the motivating power behind the body, so with justice in the state — when it flourishes, all is peace and quiet (98). Those who pass judgment should be careful not to be swayed by anger or hatred or love, and above all, bribery (97–98); for it is a grievous situation that permits the great to break the laws while the weak are apprehended (101).[1] From this unequal regulation of the law, the common folk are stirred to uprisings (102). In the execution of justice the death penalty should only be used as a means of saving the innocent lives of others (114).

In all his official capacities a prince should not act without counsel, and that from great and low alike (174); bearing always in mind that a man's advice may be sound, even though it opposes his preconceived opinions (176). Especially should a prince be on guard, because evils done by his ministers, although unknown to him, are laid to his door and there is no excuse which he can make (91–92):

> Counceil may wele be likenede to a bridelle,
> Which that an hors kepethe up from fallyng. (177)

If that be its purpose, then old men with years of experience should be selected as advisers (177). The young men may be just as sincere, but they are too bold; they are the ones to execute the actions (178).

The poem closes with a plea for peace. War, Occleve tells us, springs from ambition and covetousness, as the example of the

[1] Smalle tendernesse is hade nowe of our lawes;
For yf so be that one of the grete wattes
A dede do, which that ageyn the lawe is,
Not at alle he pynysshede for that is.
Right as lop-webbes flyes smale and gnattes
Taken, and suffren grete flyes go,
For alle this world lawe is reulede so.

Salisbury (vii, 20) attributes this figure to Anacarsis Cithica; de Cessoles (ii, 3) refers it to a Machanius. Valerius Maximus (vii, 2, 14) reports it as follows: '*Quam porro subtiliter Anacharsis leges araneorum telis comparabat, nam ut illas infirmiora animalia retinere, ualentiora transmittere, ita his humiles et pauperes constringi, diuites et praepotentes non alligari.*' In Occleve opposite the stanza quoted is the Latin gloss: *Unde Solon unus de vij sapientibus.* Erasmus who used the same figure in his *Institutio Principis Christiani* (Opera Omnia, ed., 1540, V, 464), gives it with the comment: '*ut quod egregie Graecus ille sapiens dixit.*' This would seem to refer to Solon. At all events the figure is very old, and has become a commonplace in the mediaeval writers.

Roman empire shows (187). The only justification for war is to bring unbelievers into the faith of Christ (195); and terms of victory should not be severe (116–117). The prince 'is sette in his reame for his peples ese and releef' (166). Accordingly peace is his goal. This is attained through three general lines: conforming to the will of God; humility of being; tranquility of thought. This last is especially important, because there can be no peace if one is filled with grievous and angry thoughts (180; cf. 180–end).

> By concorde, smale thynges multiplien;
> And by discorde, hate, ire, and rancour,
> Perisshen thynges grete, and waste, and dyen.
> Pees hathe the fruyte, ese in his favour;
> To gete pees holsom is the labour.
> And kepe it wele, whan that a man hath it caught,
> That ire ne discorde banysshe it nought. (186)

The very last lines of the poem are addressed to the Kings of France and England, the mirrors of the world, from whose peaceful unity so much good could and should come (191).

Conclusion

All the treatises analyzed above fall into two main groups — the pre-Aristotelian, and the Aristotelian. 'The earlier scholastics from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, were obliged, in the absence of fuller sources, to follow in their systems the scanty outlines of Stoic and Platonic doctrine that had been transmitted through the Dark Ages in more or less accurate Compends. Of Aristotle but few works were known, and these, as Symonds says, through "Latin translations made by Jews from Arabic commentaries on Greek texts."'[1] By the middle of the thirteenth century the great work of Aristotle was available to all Europe.

In the earlier group is John of Salisbury, who was followed by Gilbert of Tournai, and Jacques de Cessoles. Giraldus Cambrensis also comes in this period. In the later group we find Thomas Aquinas, William Perrault, and Aegidius Romanus. The main impetus, of course, came from Aristotle, but Aquinas contributed much that was

[1] Dunning, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190.

Christian, a good deal that was Roman,[1] and the influence of mediaeval theology. Aegidius, writing some twenty years after his teacher, presents a combination of ethics, economics, and politics, in his theories for the prince. The *Liber de Informatione Principum* and the *Speculum Dominarum* seem to have drawn from Aristotle. Thomas Occleve followed de Cessoles and Aegidius, and is therefore a product of both influences. Pierre du Bois, although a pupil of Aquinas, is really a free thinker. Marsiglio of Padua is indebted to Aristotle for much of his thought, but, coming as he does in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, is really on the brink of a new era.[2]

Just how far the later writers directly followed their predecessors (except when they acknowledge their indebtedness), or how much they depended upon the Greek philosopher at first hand it is not possible to say here. But both forms of indebtedness certainly were present. In addition to Aristotle, most of the great Roman writers were drawn upon for moral precept, philosophy, example, and also corroborating evidence of evils to be avoided. This combination of Greek thought and Roman vigor, joined with mediaeval theology, resulted in a mixture of idealism and practicability.

Certain strong and consistent lines of thought may be traced throughout this two-century period in the tradition of political theory. Beginning with John of Salisbury, we find the 'organic analogy' (either expressly stated or implied) which symbolized the mutual interdependence of mankind. Equally prominent is the idea of peace, harmony, and unity, a commonplace that is maintained from St Augustine to Dante, which brings with it the corollary that war is to be engaged in only after careful consideration. But perhaps

[1] E.g., the prominent position and consideration that was given the *wife* of the prince. This idea also appears in Perrault, Aegidius, de Cessoles, and Du Bois.

[2] Perhaps it may be of interest to summarize a few of the ideas found in Aristotle: He was opposed to aggressive conquest, but favored preparedness. He did not believe in the elevation of the common people, but recognized them as necessary. He believed in monarchy as the best *ideal* form of government, but was opposed to hereditary succession. He believed that there was a law above any personal sovereignty; that despotism was ignoble; and that tyranny, which is the worst form of government, was doomed to a certain fall. He considered man to be a social and political animal, and that states were essential. Education was needed to create the ideal state. He was opposed to commerce for gain only, and likewise to usury. In his ideas on the choice of advisers, the clemency of punishments, the distribution of benefices, etc., he furnished precedent for the mediaeval theorists.

the most striking and prominent thought that we find is the personal attitude toward rulership and rulers. This is particularly pointed if we recall that nearly all the treatises discussed were either dedicated to, or written at the request of some reigning prince. Every one of the writers lays great stress upon the personal moral virtues of the prince. It is from him alone that good or evil, as he wills it, is visited upon the land. Christian goodness is the one great remedy suggested for the surcease of human woes. Consistent with this, and consequent upon it, is the emphasis upon counsel which is so regularly enjoined upon the ruling prince. With the exception of some attention devoted to education, and some suggestions of economic development, the prince's functions are mainly divided between the military and the judicial. This last is particularly stressed, and again emphasises the personal element of the whole theory. As a whole, the various writers insist that the prince is 'under the law'; and is responsible for his acts. Just what this 'law' is, they do not state. But this, at least, is clear: the prince must assuredly answer for his conduct before the law of God.

In summary we may say that the perfect prince of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must be wise, self-restrained, just; devoted to the welfare of his people; a pattern in virtues for his subjects; interested in economic developments, an educational program, and the true religion of God; surrounded by efficient ministers and able advisers; opposed to aggressive war; and, in the realization that even he is subject to law, and through the mutual need of the prince and his subjects, zealous for the attainment of peace and unity.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

BYRHTFERTH'S *PREFACE*

By GEORGE FRANK FORSEY

Introduction

THE forthcoming publication of Byrhtferth's *Manual*[1] by Mr S. J. Crawford will for the first time give a sound basis of criticism for many problems connected with that writer. In the course of his researches on the work of Byrhtferth Mr Crawford came across the *Preface* printed herewith, and very kindly suggested that I should publish it with a few comments.[2]

Mr Crawford's edition of the *Manual* will, among other points, give us for the first time, in the Latin sections of the work, an adequate basis for the study of Byrhtferth's Latinity. Although as an Anglo-Saxon writer Byrhtferth will doubtless remain a not unimportant figure, one of his claims to fame, namely, that he is the author of the existing commentaries on certain of the works of Bede, is little likely to survive a critical examination of his authenticated works in Latin. The commentaries to which I refer are affixed to the *De Natura Rerum* and the *De Temporum Ratione* and appear in Migne, where they are described as '*Brid. Ram(es). Glossae*';[3] Byrhtferth's authorship has already been challenged by Classen (*v. infra*). As an introduction to the *Preface* of Byrhtferth I propose to give a brief summary of our knowledge of him with some indication of the problems to which this gives rise. If we turn to the standard works of reference, such as the *Dictionary of National Biography* (under 'Byrhtferth') or Max Manitius' *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II, 699–706, we find it stated that Byrhtferth flourished about 950–1000 A.D., was probably originally of Thorney, and migrated about 970 to the newly founded Abbey of Ramsey, where he became a pupil of Abbo of Fleury, and

[1] *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. S. J. Crawford, Early English Text Soc.

[2] I wish to acknowledge here the assistance graciously given me by my friend and colleague, Mr S. J. Crawford, in the preparation of the present study.

[3] *Patr. Lat.* XC, 297, 298 ff.

that he was later the author of various mathematical works. The works usually ascribed to him are:

a Commentary on Bede's *De Natura Rerum*,
a Commentary on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*,
the *Manual* (or *Enchiridion* or *Handbook*, sometimes known as the *Computus*),
the *Life of St Dunstan*, signed 'B.'

The last-named is doubtfully ascribed to him, and the ascription was early challenged by Bishop Stubbs.[1] In addition to these writings certain lost works are mentioned, including one, *De Institutione Monachorum* (*D.N.B., loc. cit.*).[2]

The life and writings of Byrhtferth have been treated at length in K. M. Classen's dissertation, *Ueber das Leben und die Schriften Byrhtferths* (Dresden, 1896); Classen's work is based on Kluge's transcript of the Old-English text of the *Manual*.[3] Classen examines the references to the work of Byrhtferth and early in his dissertation (p. 7) expresses a doubt as to his authorship of the commentaries on Bede. A knowledge of the Latin text of the *Manual*, shortly to be published by Mr Crawford, and of the contents of St John's College, Oxford, *MS. 17*, enables us to revise some of Classen's work on Byrhtferth, but is likely to confirm his conclusion as to the commentaries. St John's *MS. 17* has been described by H. O. Coxe,[4] who assigns it, from the calculations on fol. 3v, to the year 1110. A large part of the contents of the MS. is closely allied to the topics treated by the author's *Manual*, namely, the scientific works of Bede and others on the calendar, on astronomy, prosody, arithmetic, and medi-

[1] *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* (Rolls Ser., No. 63, London, 1874), pp. xi ff. For further information on 'B presbyter' see G. H. Gerould, 'The Transmission and Date of *Genesis B*,' *Modern Language Notes* XXV (1911), 129–133, and R. Priebsch, *The Heliand Manuscript, Cotton Caligula A. VII in the British Museum* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 42 ff.

[2] The *Cambridge History of English Literature* (I, 131, n. 5, ed. 1908) is equally dogmatic: 'Besides these English treatises Byrhtferth was also responsible for Latin commentaries on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* and *De Natura Rerum* and two essays entitled *De Principiis Mathematicis* and *De Institutione Monachorum;* a *Vita Dunstani* has also been attributed to him.

[3] 'Angelsächsische Excerpte aus Byrhtferth's Handboc oder Enchiridion,' *Anglia*, VIII (1885), 298–337.

[4] *Catalogus Codd. MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie asservantur* (Oxford, 1852); Pt II: *Collegii S. Johannis Baptistae XVII*).

cine. The *Preface* by Byrhtferth is on fol. 12v (Coxe, no. 17) and on fol. 7v (Coxe no. 15) is: *Tabula exhibens concordiam mensium atque elementorum a Bryhtferd siue Bryhtfertho, monacho Ramesiensi edita.* I quote Coxe's description. The title in the MS. runs: *Hanc figuram edidit Brihtferd, Monachus Ramesiensis coenobii, de concordia mensium atque elementorum.*[1] On fol. 35r (Coxe, no. 29) is found *Figura numerum exhibens infinitum, cum Abbonis ratione super eandem.* The refernce to Abbo points to Byrhtferth, and some of the astronomical notes and diagrams in this MS. are probably by him. Coxe is inclined to follow Leland in ascribing to him the work on fol. 16r (Coxe, no. 26), '*Kalendarium cum expositione de mensium nominibus . . . necnon diebus festis per singulos menses carmine notatis.*' We may note, too, the presence on fol. 3r (Coxe, no. 5) of acrostic verses in praise of Dunstan: '*Versus acrostichides,*' as Coxe describes them, '*quorum acrostichis,*

> Summe sacer, te summa salus tueatur amicis,
> Gloria Dunstani, deuoto necne benigno.

If we turn to the tradition with regard to Byrhtferth and his work, we find that the first reference to him appears to be in the *Catalogue* of Boston of Bury, who in the early fifteenth century travelled over England and parts of Scotland and made a catalogue of the ecclesiastical authors in no less than one hundred and ninety-five religious houses.[2] The work of Boston was partially published in David Wilkin's edition of Thomas Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), where the following is quoted from it (preface, p. xxx):

Birdferthus monachus Ramesiae floruit A. C. . . . et scripsit super librum Bedae de temporibus, lib. 1 Pr. Spiraculo. 82.[3]

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[1] See C. and D. Singer, 'Byrhtferð's Diagram,' *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, II (1917), No. 14.

[2] See M. R. James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., 1895), p. 34.

[3] Since writing this paper I have had the opportunity of examining an eighteenth-century transcript of Boston's *Catalogue* (Cambridge Univ. Library *MS. 3470*). I owe my knowledge of its whereabouts to the courtesy of Dr M. R. James. Tanner's copy of this reference is complete. I have also examined the fragment of Boston's work in Brit. Mus. *Addit. MS. 4787*, fol. 133–135; this comprises only three and one half sheets, consisting mainly of the list of monasteries visited, with their numbers, from the beginning of the *Catalogue*.

There is a further brief reference to Byrhtferth in a work of Boston, entitled *Speculum Coenobitarum;*[1] the passage is:

Brithferthus, Monachus de Ramesia, scripsit super Bedam de temporibus libros iv.

The next reference to Byrhtferth is by John Leland in his Collectanea[2] where he is describing a MS. whose contents were very similar to those of St John's *MS. 17*. Difficulties in the way of identifying the two MSS have been pointed out by Dr Singer,[3] but the relations between them are very close indeed. Practically all the items mentioned by Leland can be identified in St John's *MS. 17*. Leland introduces his description with the words:

Ex libro ueteri quem mutuo sumpsi a Taliboto: Carmina Abbonis Monachi, natione Itali, numero septuaginta, dedicata uero D. Dunstano, Episcopo Anglo. Scripta erant maiusculis literis Romanis, primis, mediis et ultimis minio coloratis. Ita ut in unoquoque carmine eadem litera et principium et medium et finem obtineret. Mihi certe uidebantur eius rei speciem referre quam nos uulgo compotum manualem appellamus.

Of Byrhtferth's work in the MS. Leland says:

Ibidem

Doctissima figura edita a Bryghteferdo monacho Ramesiensis coenobii de concordia mensium et elementorum. Eiusdem proemium et commentariolus in librum Bedae de temporibus. In hoc commentario doctas excogitauit figuras. *Ibidem.* Calendarium in quo festi dies per singulos menses carminibus notantur. Videtur (quamuis pro certo affirmare non ausim) hoc

[1] Published by Anthony Hall at the end of his *Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio* (Oxford, 1722), p. 189.

[2] *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (1st ed., Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1715), IV, 97 (= III, 113, in Leland's numeration).

[3] C. and D. Singer, *loc. cit.*, p. 51. Commenting on this passage of Leland he says: 'His [Leland's] description of the volume would in many respects apply to the St John's College MS. 17, but the two MSS cannot be regarded as identical.

The first item of Leland corresponds with folio 3 recto of the St John's College MS., and it has been suggested that folio 3 recto was originally the first in the volume (C. Singer, 'A Review of the Medical History of the Dark Ages with a New Text of about 1110,' reproduced from *Proceedings of Roy. Soc. Med.*, Historical Section, London, 1917, pp. 107–160). Leland's second item is a *libellulus cui titutus erat, Coena Cypriani episcopi,*' presumably the Scena Cypriani episcopi on fol. 4 v. of the St John's College MS. The third item cited by Leland we have not identified in the St John's College MS., but his description continues as follows:

calendarium a Brightferdo fuisse scriptum, ita enim illius commentario in librum Bedae de natura rerum adhaeret, sed sine autoris nomine. Quisquis scripsit non indocte scripsit . . . Post haec multa sequuntur de circulo Pascali, et de abaco, insuper de asse et de eius partibus.

This passage causes Classen great difficulty in his attempts to relate it either to the commentaries on Bede or to the *Manual* of Byrhtferth, with neither of which is it in any way concerned. He remarks (page 5):

Aber alle diese Beziehungen sind doch so allgemeiner Art und auch die weiteren Angaben Lelands so dürftig, dass wir daraus auf keinen Fall einen giltigen Schluss ziehen können.

But when compared with St John's *MS. 17* Leland's description is found to show a fairly close correspondence.

Leland speaks in another place[1] in his *Collectanea* of Byrhtferth, where he says:

Gulielmus, monachus Ramesiensis scripsit libros quattuor de temporibus et naturis, deflorans Isodorum et Bedam, uel potius in eorum libros commentaria scribens. De hoc Gulielmo eruditus sic annotauit in margine libri: 'Unde in quadam tabula in ecclesia metropolitana Saluatoris Cantuar: quam fecerat quidam doctor Theologiae, monachus eiusdem loci, nomine Gulielmus Gyllingham, de uiris illustribus, uidelicet de sanctis et egregiis doctoribus, qui hactenus fuerunt in ordine monachorum, inter ceteros nigrorum monachorum doctores nouissime de praedicto Gulielmo sic loquitur: 'Gulielmus, Ramesiensis monachus, scripsit super Bedam de temporibus libros quattuor.' Hactenus ille. Ego certe coniecturam facio, hos esse commentarios, quos nuper legi in antiquo exemplari, quod Talbotus ad me misit. Continebat enim praeter alia de temporibus et de naturis rerum. Sed commentarii et circuli rerum astronomicarum ad miraculum docte picti praeferebant Brightferti, monachi Ramesiensis, nomen. Potuit tamen Gulielmus hominis praenomen fuisse.

'*Ibidem Doctissima figura . . . excoptasit*' figures (as above in the text). Here we have clearly the same material as in the St John's College MS., fol. 7v. and folios 12v and 13r. Leland next describes a calendar which he reproduces, and the reproduction corresponds to a key attached to each month of the Calendar on fols. 16r. to 21v. of the St John's College MS., where, however, the key has been omitted from December. Leland adds 'Post haec multa, etc. . . .' and this would apply well to our St John's College MS. It thus seems not unlikely that the two MSS. may have, at least in part, a common source.

[1] *Op. cit.*, IV, 23; Leland's reckoning, III, 20.

In the margin is the note: *Talbotus adfirmat Brightfertum monachum fuisse Thorneiensem.* The passage is somewhat obscure, but there seems to be little in favor of Leland's identification of Byrhtferth with the Gulielmus here mentioned. It is not impossible that we have in this passage a fleeting glimpse of the author of the *glossae* that bear Byrhtferth's name.[1] The chief importance of the passage for our present purpose is that in it we find Leland conjecturally identifying Byrhtferth as the writer of four books of commentaries on Bede's *De Temporibus* (i.e. the *De Natura Rerum* and the *De Temporum Ratione*) largely on the strength apparently of the *Preface* and astronomical figures which appear in St John's *MS. 17.* It does not seem likely that the word *commentariolus* in the passage quoted above could refer to the large body of glossae which now bear Byrhtferth's name. It looks much as though this confusion between the contents of St John's *MS. 17* and the commentaries on Bede is the final source of the ascription of the latter to Byrhtferth.

There is a further reference by Leland to Byrhtferth in his *De Scriptoribus Britannicis,*[2] where he says:

> Brightefertus, monachus Rameseganus, uel ut quidam uolunt Thorneganus, secutus religiose suae aetatis studia ad mathesin, acerrimorum ingeniorum excitatricem, animum applicauit, in quo eruditionis genere sic postea enituit, ut artem per se claram, depictis graphice organis, et additis commentariis tum doctissimis tum lucidissimis, clariorem redderet. Illustrauit praeterea scholiis, non de triuio petitis, Bedae Girovicensis libellum de natura rerum: in quo dum tempora supputat, facile ostendit quantum in expedita numerorum ratione ualeret. Multa ibi de circulo Pascali, de abaco, de asse et eius partibus. Hunc ego aliquando a candido Talboto, homine mei loci atque ordinis, librum mutuo accepi, et acceptum ueluti avidus helluo, totum profecto deuoraui.

The book referred to is evidently the MS. so akin to St John's *MS. 17*, and it is highly probable that of the '*commentarii*' which he ascribes to Byrhtferth little more can be with certainty identified

[1] It is at any rate worth noting that in Boston's *Speculum Coenobitarum* referred to above, immediately preceding the sentence that informs us that Byrhtferth wrote four books of commentaries on Bede's *De Temporibus*, are the words: *Willielmus, monachus de Rameseya scripsit super Cantica Canticorum Homilias XXX.*

[2] Ed. by A. Hall, Oxford, 1709, chap. 136.

as his than the Prologue and the figure which we possess in St John's *MS. 17*.

To return for a moment to Boston of Bury: we have seen that he quotes as the first word of the work of Byrhtferth '*spiraculo*,' from which it would appear that he too was speaking of the *Preface*. There is, however, a discrepancy in the opening words as quoted by Tanner in the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hispanica* referred to above. Under 'Brightefertus' (page 125), after speaking of Leland, the Basel edition of Bede of 1563, and *MS. Ashmol. 328*, which contains the *Manual*, he says:

> Scripsit etiam commentaria in Bedam de temporibus lib. 1. 'Spiraculo uitae humanum genus' olim in bibl. Buriensi ut Bostonus habet. Extant prooemium et comm. in Bedam de temporibus.

The additional words '*uitae humanum genus*,' if they are a correct quotation, rule out a reference to the *Preface*. The words are probably from Boston, since we find them in Bale in the sixteenth century, and his sources for Byrhtferth appear to be Boston and Leland. He mentions Boston as a source in the title of his work, and Leland in the article on Byrhtferth.

John Bale's references to Byrhtferth are in his *Catalogue*, published at Basel (*Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam uocant Catalogus*, Basel, 1557–1559). The *Catalogue* is arranged in chronological order, and under '*Centuria Secunda*' (cap. xxxv) is a notice on Byrhtferth on which the writer quotes the passage from Leland's *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (chap. 136) given above, with some slight expansions, and gives the following list of his works:

De Principiis Mathematicis.	lib. 1
In Bedam de Temporibus	lib. 1
In Eundem de Natura Rerum	lib. 1
De Institutione Monachorum	lib. 1

et alia nonnulla.

In addition to this printed *Catalogue* of Bale there exist certain notebooks of his, which, unlike the *Catalogue*, are not arranged in chronological order. They contain valuable additional information

as to the sources of his knowledge. These notes have been published in recent times (*John Bale: Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, edited by Lane-Poole and Bateson, 1902, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, 9*). On page 50 of this edition appear two further references to Byrhtferth:

(fol. 13v).

Bridferthus, Monachus Ramesiae, inter cetera scripsit,
Super opus Bede de temporibus atque alia quaedam; li. 1 'Spiraculo.' Opus est Burie in monasterio. *Ex Bostoni Buriensis catalogo.*

(fol. 13v).

Brithferthus Ramesiensis, monachus et doctor nonnulla scripsit opuscula. Tempore Abbonis Floriacensis.
Ex Institutione Monachorum

The sources of Bale's information are therefore two, the *Catalogue* of Boston and Boston's work '*De Institutione Monachorum.*' So, it seems to me, the words must be read, since on page 49 (*op. cit.*) this work of Boston is referred to in a list of his writings thus:

De prima monachorum institutione lib. 1. 'primus institor monachorum.' Nam operis collector Coenobita Buriensis fuit
Ex Collegio Magdalene, Oxon.

According to Lane-Poole and Bateson the manuscript no longer exists. This work of Boston, *De Prima Monachorum Institutione*, suggests at once the *Speculum Coenobitarum*, which opens with a discussion of the beginnings of monastic life, and contains lists of religious writers and their works. It is just such a work as would serve as a source to Bale for his *Catalogue*. The words quoted as the opening '*primus institor monachorum*' do not correspond, however, to the opening of the *Speculum Coenobitarum*. I do not know whether the manuscript from which Hall printed the *Speculum* still exists. It is perhaps worth noting that there is a traditional ascription to Byrhtferth himself of a work *De Institutione Monachorum*. Perhaps here there is some confusion of references.

The next reference to Byrhtferth is in the literary history of John Pits, published in the early seventeenth century (*Johannis Pitsei Angli . . . Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis tomus primus*, Paris, 1619). His account is unimportant, being based on

Leland and Bale with embellishments. His ascription of the commentaries on Bede to Byrhtferth rests on the Basel edition of 1563, to which he refers in the words, '*extant pleraque cum operibus Bedae, Basiliae, anno 1563.*' Classen is not precisely accurate when he says:

> Pits ist dennoch der erste, der mit Bestimmtheit dem bekannten angelsächsischen Schriftsteller und Gelehrten Byrhtferth gerade diejenigen lateinischen Kommentare zuschreibt, die wir im Auge haben.

The problem is rather upon what authority the name of Byrhtferth was attached to those commentaries in the 1563 edition of Bede.

If we reject the authorship of Byrhtferth the possibilities appear to be somewhat as follows:

(1) The commentaries have been ascribed to Byrhtferth solely through confusion with the *Preface*. This hypothesis leaves unexplained '*uitae humanum genus*' in the words quoted as the opening of his commentary.

(2) Byrhtferth wrote a commentary now lost, which began with the words '*spiraculo uitae humanum genus,*' and this work became confused with the commentaries now ascribed to him in our texts. The appearance of the word '*spiraculo*' at the beginning of both commentary and *Preface* would then be merely coincidence. This I think, is the most probable view.

On the other hand, the difficulties in accepting the traditional ascription of the commentaries to Byrhtferth are very great. In the first place, there are serious weaknesses in the external evidence, in that the words quoted as the beginning of Byrhtferth's commentary '*spiraculo uitae humanum genus*' do not correspond to the beginning of the existing commentary. Moreover, the MS. authority for the *glossae* to Byrhtferth in the Basel edition, if any existed, has not been traced. Secondly, internal evidence (namely, considerations of language and style) is, I think, decisive against the authorship of Byrhtferth, if we compare his known work in the *Preface* and the Latin portions of the *Manual* with the commentaries.

Here we are concerned only with the *Preface*, but, small as it is in amount, it may, in my opinion, be safely asserted that the writer

of it was incapable of being the author of the comparatively stylish commentaries. The contrast may be most plainly seen, not only in the rhythm and the easy run of sentences in the *Commentary*, compared with the crabbed style of Byrhtferth, but in vocabulary and language. Mr Crawford has pointed out to me the close similarity between the vocabulary of Aldhelm and that of the *Preface*, and an examination of this resemblance makes the lack of such affinity in the commentaries the more striking. As a writer of Latin Byrhtferth is incomparably inferior to the author of the Commentaries.

Brief as the *Preface* is, it is full of characteristic usages. The following list of parallels, which is not exhaustive, is drawn from the prose version of *De Virginitate*. (The numbers refer to the chapters of Aldhelm's work and the words underlined occur in the *Preface:*)

desudans. 2.
unus tamen accipit *brauium*. 2. cf. 43, inuictum Christi tropheum et ineluctabile *brauium*.
phalerato uectus cornipede 2. cf. 9, *phalerata* saeculi ornamenta. cf. also 35 and 58.
caelesti afflatus *spiraculo*. 3.
solerter *indagando*. 4. cf. 18. qualitatemque propriae uirtutis *indagantes*. cf. 21. *indagando*. The *Preface* has the substantive, subtili *indagatione*.
ortograforum disciplines. 4.
coelestis medicinae antidotem vitaliter *propinauit*. 7 cf. 17. *propinantes*.
raptus in *oramate* extaseos. 7. cf. 27.
tyrunculis ecclesiae. 11.
coenobialis militiae. 11.
protoplastus recentis *Paradisi colonus*. 11. cf. 22 and 24 *florentis Paradisi*.
ut nullus in *practicae* conuersationis studio. 14. cf. 29.
in propatulo. 20 and *passim*.
mysticis sacramentorum operculis. 21.
flexis *literarum apicibus*. 21. cf. 25 (*bis*). 43.
geminae laudis *praeconio*. 25 and *passim*.
a *primaeuo pubertatis tyrocinio*. 28. and *tyrocinium* elsewhere, e.g., 53.
fine tenus. 43.

synagogae *typum* obumbrans. 57.
per allegoriam *luce clarius elimavit.* 13.
specialiter. 58.

The bee affords a metaphor in the *Preface* (p. 516, below), likewise in the following passage in chapter 4 of Aldhelm's treatise:

ast tamen solertissimae apis industriam praedictis exemplorum formulis coaptari posse uberrima rerum experimenta liquido declarant, quae roscido facessente crepusculo et exorto limpidissimi solis iubare densos extemplo tripudantium turmarum exercitus per patentes campos gregatim diffundunt, modo melligeris caltarum frondibus seu purpureis maluarum floribus incubantes mulsa nectaris stillicidia guttatim rostro decerpunt et uelut lento careni defruto, quod regalibus ferculis conficitur, auida uiscerum receptacula certatim implere contendunt, modo flauescentes saliculas et crocata genestarum cacumina circumuallantes fertilem praedam numerosis crurum et coxarum oneribus aduehunt, quibus cerea castra conficiunt. . . .[1]

Although the bee serves commonly to provide a metaphor in mediaeval literature,[2] we may note that the names of the plants in the *Preface* recur here, *maluae, saliculae, genistae,* and that we find the same phrase '*rostro decerpunt.*'

These parallels from so short a passage as the *Preface* are sufficiently striking. If we turn to the commentaries on Bede, not only do we find Latin of an entirely different type, exhibiting little trace of these peculiarities of vocabulary and much nearer to the classical model, but also a range of ideas and subject matter quite alien to the pedestrian Byrhtferth.

Any attempt to analyze the sources and characteristics of the commentaries would require a separate paper, and here I will merely refer to the analysis of Manitius (*op. cit.*, II, 700–705). We may note, however, that the commentaries are a work put together from the usual sources of knowledge of the Middle Ages, Pliny, Macrobius, Martianus Capella with Remigius' commentary, Isidore, and others. Little inference can be drawn from the use of Greek words or from the fact that classical authors are occasionally quoted (e.g., Pers., ii, 1, on *De Temp. Rat.*, cap. iii; Luc., x, 199, 200, on cap. xxii of

[1] Ed. R. Ehwald, *M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.* XV (1919), 231, 232.

[2] On the possible borrowing from this very passage in Aldhelm by Asser in his *Life of King Alfred*, see A. S. Cook, SPECULUM, II (1927), 202.

the same work; Juv., ii, 161, on cap. 10 of the *De Natura Rerum*). Nevertheless, by whatever channels it is derived — and they are doubtless mainly indirect ones — the commentaries contain a good deal of classical lore.

Text

Proemium Brihtferthi, Ramesiensis cenobii monachi, super Bedam de Temporibus

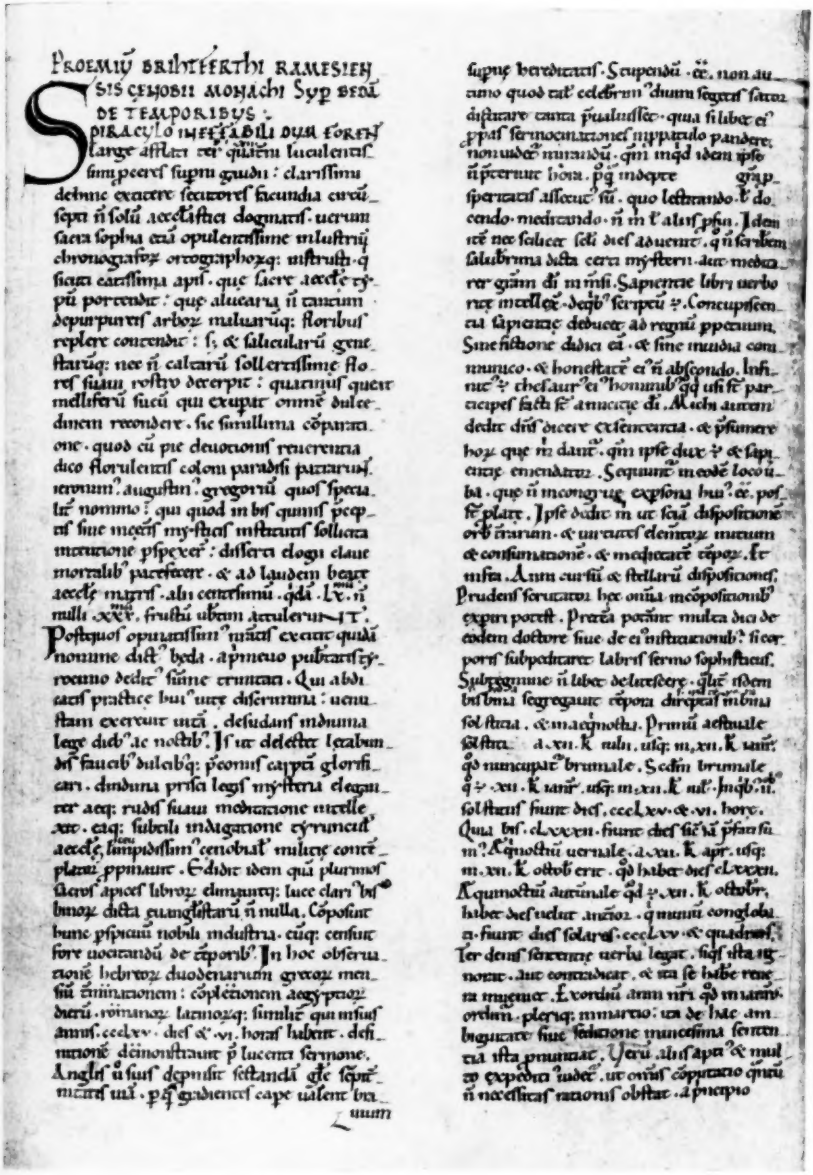
Spiraculo ineffabili dum forent large afflati ter quaterni[1] luculentissimi proceres superni gaudii, clarissimi dehinc extitere secutores, facundia circumsepti non solum aecclesiastici dogmatis, uerum sacra sophia etiam opulentissime inlustrium chronograforum ortographorumque instructi, qui sicuti catissima apis, quę sacre aecclesie typum portendit, quę aluearia non tantum de purpureis arborum maluarumque floribus replere contendit, sed et salicularum genestarumque nec non caltarum solertissime[2] flores suaui rostro decerpit, quatinus queat melliferum sucum qui exuperat omnem dulcedinem recondere, sic simillima comparatione, quod cum pie deuotionis reuerentia dico, florulentis coloni paradisi patrarunt, Ieronimus, Augustinus, Gregorius,[3] quos specialiter nomino: qui quod in bis quinis praeceptis, siue in ceteris mysticis institutis sollicita intentione perspexerunt, disserti elogii claue mortalibus patefecere, et ad laudem beatę aeclesię matris, alii centesimum, quidam sexagesimum, nonnulli tricesimum fructum ubertim attulerunt. Post quos opinatissimus nostratis extitit quidam nomine dictus Beda, a primeuo pubertatis tyrocinio deditus summe trinitati. Qui, abdicatis practicę huius uitę discriminibus,[4] uenustam exercuit uitam, desudans in diuina lege diebus ac noctibus. Is, ut delectet lętabundis faucibus dulcibusque praeconiis carptim glorificari dindima priscę[5] legis, mysteria eleganter aeque rudis,[6] suaui meditatione intellexit, eaque subtili inda-

[1] Glossed, xii. *ss.* [2] issimę, *cod.*

[3] Gregoriu(m), *cod.* Possibly an older copy had the *s*-symbol with *u* for *-us;* see Speculum, I (1926), 443, 444.

[4] Discrimina *cod.* Possibly *discrimina* should be retained and *abdicatus* read as a deponent, since Byrhtferth has some curious usages. [5] prisci, *cod.*

[6] Possibly *aeque ⟨atque⟩ rudis* should be read and *mysteria* bracketed as a gloss on *dindima.* Or read *aeque et* and consider *dindima* as an adjective, removing the comma after *legis. Carptim* is to be construed with *glorificari* (read *glorificare?*). See the translation, p. 520.



PROEMIU BRIHTFERTHI RAMESIEN
SIS CENOBII MONACHI SYP BEDE
DE TEMPORIBUS.
SPIRACVLO INFESTABILI DUM FOREM
large afflati cer quidem luculentis
simi peceri supm gaudii : clarissimu
deinde exactere securoresq; iucundia curu
sepi nr solu accliste dogmatis. uerum
sacra sophia eiu opulentissime mlustriu
chronographoz orthographoxq: mstruth q
siqui earissima apis. que sacre accliae cy
pu porrendit : que alucariu nr tantum
depurpurtis arboz mulunuq: floribus
replere contendit : s, & sulcularu gene
stariuq: nec nr calcariu sollertissime flo
res suum rostro decerpit : quatinus quem
melliferu sucu qui erupat omne dulce
dinem reondere. sic simillima cpuncti
one. quod cu pie deuocionis reuerentia
dico floruleris colum paradisi pratariuq.
rerum? augustin? gregoriu quos specta
tz nomino? qui quod in bis quinis pcep
tis siue mcclis my-sticis mstituis sollicta
mctucione pspexer : disserti elogu claue
moralib pacrsacrer. & ad laudem bcate
accliae mgris. alu certissimu. qdi. lx. n
milli. cccc. fructu ubam accleruit.
Postquos opulentissim maist exeunt quida
nomine dict beda. apmeno pulcaris ey
reuno dedit sume cruntan. Qui abdi
tacis practice but ure diserimina : uenu
stam exercuit uita. defudans mduma
lege die ac nocte. Is ut delectet lectam
dis fauch dulabq: pconis capta glorifi
cari. dindum prisca legis my-steria elegan
ter aeq: rudi suam meditatione mtelle
xit. etq: subtili indagatione cyruncid
accliae, limpidissim cenobiat mulcie contr
plata ppinauit. Edidit idem qu plurimos
sacros apices libroz dmgnitq: luce clari bi
bliozq dicta euangelistaru n nulla. Copsimt
hunc pspicuu nobili mdustriu cuq: censuit
fore nocandu de ceptis. In hoc obseru
tione hebraoz duodenariu gracaq: men
su diminutionem : coplectionem aeq ptoz
derii. romanoq: latinoq: simile qui mius
annis. cclxv. dies & vi. horas habent. defi
nitione deinonstrauit p lucenta sermone.
Anglis u suis depulit sectanda que sepe
mcmi uti. p quadrienes eape ualent bra
chium
supuq bcdictacis. Scupendu. ce. non au
anno quod tale celebrum dium sogetis sacra
disseuare causa pualuisse. qua si libet ei
ppas sermocinationes mpuudo pandere.
non udc miandu. qm miqd idem ipse
n pceruit bona. pq indepte gnap
sperancis asseuc su. quo lectitando. & do
cendo. meditando. n m t alus pfin. Idem
ce nec salucr seli dies adsuerut. q n sarbem
salubrima dicta cerca my-steri. aut medita
rer giam di m mnsi. Sapiencie libri uerbo
rue mtellex. dcjb scripcu. Concupiscen
cu sapiencie debuerc ad regnu ppetuum.
Sine fictione dicit ei. & sine mudia com
munico. & honestacc ei n abscondo. Inh
nuc. chesaur ei hominib qq usi se par
ticapes facti se amicicie di. Modo autem
dedit dns dicere exercencia. & psimere
hoz que n dant. qm ipse dux. & sapi
encie emendatur. Sequam modc loco u
bi. que n meningie exponi hui. ce. pos
se plare. Ipse dcbc in ut scia dispositione
orbis tarun. & uircutes elemtoz mutuu
& consummatione. & medicare cpoz. Le
misa. Anni cursu & stellaru dispositones.
Prudens scrutatus hec omia mcpositionib
expti potuit. Prter pcdit multa dici de
eadem doctore siue de ei mstitutionib. sicut
potis subpaturare labris sermo sophisticus.
Subtegmine n libet delatere. que eidem
bis bina segregauit cpora dicipsa mbina
sol stitia. & macmothu. Primu actuale
solstitia. a. xii. k iulii. usq: m. xii. k iuii.
qd nuncupat brumale. Sedm brumale
q. xii. k iuii. usq: m. xii. k iul. hnb. ii.
sol stitia sunt dies. cccl. xv. & vi. horc.
Qua bis. dlxxxii. fiunt dies tic ia pfata su
m? Aequinoctiu uernale. a. xii. k apr. usq:
m. xii. k octobi eric. qd habet dies clxxxii.
Aequinoctiu autumnale qd. v. xii. k octobr.
habet dies totidc. autoz. q manu conglobi
ta. fiunt dies solares. cccl. xv. & quadrans.
Ter denis sereniq uerbis legat. fiet ista ig
norare. aut contradicat. & ita se habe rem
ingenue. Eorundu anni uri qd mutatio
ordinis. plerisq: mmarcio. ita de hac am
bigitate siue seductione nunciima sentan
tia ista pmunit. Uerum alis apta & mul
to expedita inde. ut omis cpositio quia
n ecclias rationis obstat. a principio

St John's College (Oxford), *MS. 17*, fol. 12v

gatione tyrunculis aecclesie, ceu[1] limpidissimus cenobialis militię contemplator, propinauit. Edidit idem quam plurimos sacros apices librorum, elimauitque luce clarius bis binorum dicta euangelistarum nonnulla. Composuit hunc[2] perspicuum nobili industria, eumque censuit fore uocitandum *de Temporibus*.

In hoc obseruationem Hebreorum, duodenarium[3] Grecorum mensium terminationem, completionem Aegyptiorum dierum, Romanorum Latinorumque similiter, qui in suis annis CCCLXV dies et VI horas habent, definitionem demonstrauit praelucenti sermone. Anglis uero suis depromsit sectandam glorię sempiternitatis uiam, per quam gradientes capere ualent brauium supernę hereditatis. Stupendum esse non autimo quod talis celeberrimus diuinę[4] segetis sator dictitare tanta praualuisset, quia si libet eius proprias sermocinationes in propatulo pandere, non uidetur mirandum, quoniam inquid idem ipse: 'non praeteriuit hora postquam indepte . . . gratia prosperitatis assecutus sum, qua[5] lectitando, uel docendo, meditando non mihi uel aliis profui.' Idem item; 'nec scilicet seculi dies aduenit, quo non scriberem saluberrima dicta certi mysterii, aut meditarer gratiam dei inmensi.' Sapientię libri uerba[6] rite intellexit de quibus scriptum est: 'Concupiscentia sapientię deducet ad regnum perpetuum.'[7] 'Sine fictione didici eam et sine inuidia communico, et honestatem eius non abscondo. Infinitus est thesaurus eius hominibus, quo qui usi sunt participes facti sunt amicitię dei.' 'Michi autem dedit dominus dicere ex sententia et praesumere ⟨digna⟩ horum quae mihi dantur, quoniam ipse dux est et sapientię emendator.'[8]

[1] *ceu* is written above the line as a gloss and may profitably be omitted.

[2] Possibly ⟨*librum*⟩ should be inserted.

[3] *duodenarium:* the form is odd; *duodenarum* should possibly be read, in spite of the Classical gender.

[4] divini, *cod.*

[5] qui, *cod.* The passage is similar to the following:

'Quo natus in territorio eiusdem monasterii . . . cunctumque ex eo tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens, omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi; atque inter obseruantiam disciplinae regularis, et cotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam, semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui' (*Hist. Eccl.* v, 24, ed. C. Plummer, I, 357).

Apparently Bede said something similar elsewhere. Can it be found?

[6] uerbo, *cod.*

[7] *Sapientia*, vi, 21.

[8] *Ibid.*, vii, 13–15 (adapted). The original form, 'quoniam ipse sapientiae dux est et sapientium emendator,' should doubtless be restored.

Sequuntur in eodem loco uerba quę non incongrue ex persona huius esse possunt prolata.[1] 'Ipse dedit mihi ut sciam dispositionem orbis terrarum et uirtutes elementorum, initium et consumationem et medietatem temporum.'[2] Et infra: 'Anni cursum et stellarum dispositiones.'[3] Prudens scrutator hęc omnia in compositionibus experiri potest. Preterea poterant multa dici de eodem doctore siue de eius institutionibus, si corporis subpeditaret labris sermo sophisticus. Sub tegmine non libet delitescere qualiter idem[4] bis bina segregauit tempora direpta[5] in bina solstitia et in aequinoctia. Primum aestiuale solstitium a XII K. iulii usque in XII K. ianuari(as),[6] quod nuncupatur brumale. Secundum brumale, quod[7] est XII K. ianuar(ias) usque in XII K. iul(ias), in quibus duobus solstitiis fiunt dies CCCLXV et VI horę, quia bis CLXXXII fiunt dies sicut iam praefati sumus. Aequinoctium uernale a XII K. april(es) usque in XII K. octobr(es) erit, quod habet dies CLXXXII. Aequinoctium autumnale, quod est <a>[8] XII K.
octobr(es), habet dies uelut anterior, qui in unum conglobati fiunt dies solares CCCLXV et quadrans.

Ter denis[9] sententię uerba legat si quis ista ignorat aut contradicat, et ita se habere reuera inueniet. Exordium anni nostri, quod in ianuario ordimur, plerique in martio; ita de hac ambiguitate siue seditione in uicesima sententia ista pronuntiat. 'Uerum aliis aptius et multo expeditius uidetur ut omnis computatio quantum non necessitas rationis obstat a principio <anni>[10] sui etiam apud Romanos incipiat[11] et usque ad terminum anni rato atque intemerato ordine percurrat.'

[1] prolatę, *cod.* [2] *Sapientia*, vii, 17, 18. [3] *Ibid.*, vii, 19.

[4] *isdem, cod.*, but for *isdem* for *idem* see Bonnet, *Le Latin de Gregoire de Tours* (Paris: Hachette, 1890), p. 384. *isdem* is glossed with *.s.beda.* (above *bis bina*).

[5] direptas, *cod:* glossed above with *s. ipsa tempora.*

[6] In view of *iulii*, these names of the months should possibly be expanded as genitives rather than in the Classical adjectival form as I have done.

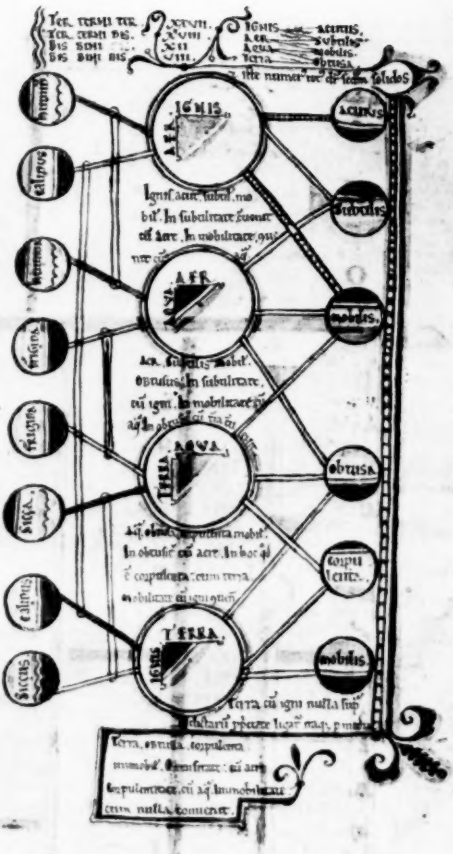
[7] quo, *cod.* [8] I have added <*a*> which seems to be necessary.

[9] *Ter denis:* the equivalent of *tricesimae*, the thirtieth chapter of the *De Temporum Ratione* being '*De aequinoctiis et solstitiis.*'

[10] I have added <*anni*> from Migne's text.

[11] *incipiat:* MS. *incipiant* and *percurrant.* This passage appears in *Patr. Lat.* XC, 397, as follows:

Verum aliis aptius multo et expeditius uidetur ut computatio omnis, quantum non neces-



St John's College (Oxford), *MS. 17*, fol. 13r

Que uerba intellegenda sunt ut anni nostri principia ueluti Romani sumamus a K. ianuar(iis), ex quibus diuina sumpsimus sacramenta, et terminemus in II K. ianuar(ias), qui est ultimus illorum dies. Hęc faleratis verbis sunt prolata a nobis, sed pro eius affectu dicta, qui quod potuit aeclesię dei ad honorem contulit. Credendum est ut his[1] qui circumuallatus fuerat oppressione corporis[2] deumque inuisibilem perspicere meruit in oromate spiritus, multo magis iam, glomeratus meritorum lucris, mereatur gratulabundus cernere deum deorum in Syon, quę mystica interpretatione speculatio dicitur. Enim uero gratuitam[3] dei gratiam flagitemus non eneruiter, ut, qui tot eum ineffabilibus donis ditauit, nobis saltim in ualle huius patrię degentibus praebeat cęlestis desiderii dulcedinem, ut fontem ueri luminis, qui deus est, fine tenus pudica tuitione cernere ualeamus.

Post huius denique epilogii descriptionem libet articulum flectere ad totius libri recapitulationem, quia post huius terminationem constant Abbonis sophistę dicta,[4] alumpni Benedicti patris, per cuius beneuolentiam percepimus huius rei intelligentiam nec non aliarum rerum peritiam. Dissertissimi uiri itaque Herici expositiones ultima pars huius codicis concludit honestissime.

Translation

The Preface of Brihtferth, a monk of Ramsey, to Bede's treatise on the Seasons

Whilst the thrice four noble leaders were liberally inspired by the wondrous spirit of heavenly joy, there arose thereafter famous successors, not only fortified by the eloquence of the teaching of the Church, but also richly schooled in the holy wisdom of illustrious historians and grammarians. They, like the wise bee, the type of Holy Church, that not only

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sitas rationis obsistat, a principio anni sui etiam apud Romanos incipiat, et usque ad terminum anni *ratio* atque intemerato ordine procurrat.

Of the variants which occur here, Migne's *Multo et* is doubtless the correct order, *obstat* of the *Preface* should probably be replaced by *obsistat* of Migne's text, and *anni* should clearly be supplied in the *Preface*. Migne's *ratio*, however, is a plain error and should give place to *rato* from the *Preface*. I suspect that we should also read <*ut*> *etiam apud Romanos*. *Ut* would easily fall out before the *et* of *etiam*. *Procurrat* should probably be read with Migne.

[1] The form *his* = *is*, should probably be retained; cf. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[2] corpori, *cod.* [3] gratuitu(m), *cod.* [4] dicto, *cod.*

hastens to fill the hive from the bright blossoms of trees and mallows, but also skilfully sips with sweet lip the flowers of willow and broom and marigold, so that it may store the honeybearing juice that surpasses all sweetness, achieved a like task, dwellers, as I may call them in similar comparison with all devoutness and reverence, in a flowering paradise. Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, I especially name, who opened to men with the key of eloquent discourse what they by careful study perceived in the ten commandments, or in the other mystic ordinances; and some bore fruit richly one hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold to the glory of Blessed Mother Church. After these there arose a most celebrated countryman of ours named Bede, given up from the early training of youth to the service of the highest Trinity. He, renouncing the perils of this life of action, practised a life of beauty, toiling day and night in the divine law. He, that he might give delight by his joyous eloquence and sweet preaching, understood how by sweet meditation to glorify, bit by bit, the mystic secrets of the ancient law and the new as well, and, as a very clear-sighted spectator of the warfare which the monks wage, offered these results of his careful investigation to the young recruits of the Church. He also published many sacred books and polished clearer than light some of the sayings of the four evangelists. This lucid book he composed with noble industry and judged that it should be given the title *De Temporibus*.

In this he showed in radiant language the observance of the Hebrews, the limit of twelve months of the Greeks, the total of the days of the Egyptians and similarly the way the days are limited by the Romans and Latins, who have three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. But he revealed to his English fellow-countrymen the path of eternal glory for them to follow, by which if they tread it, they are able to win the prize of heavenly inheritance. I do not think that it is remarkable that such a celebrated sower of the divine field should have had the power to utter such great themes, since, if we choose to reveal his own words, it does not seem astonishing, for he says himself: 'No hour has passed since . . . in which I have not by reading, teaching, and studying profited both myself and others.' He likewise says: 'Nor has there come a day of my life on which I did not write down the health-giving sayings of the sure revelation, or meditate the Grace of God immeasurable.' Rightly did he understand the words of the book of Wisdom, of which it is written: 'The desire of wisdom bringeth to the everlasting kingdom.' 'Without deceit I learnt that wisdom and ungrudgingly I share it, and I do not hide its fair aspect. Infinite is its treasure to men, and those who have made use of that treasure have had a share in the friendship of God.' 'To me, however, God has granted to speak from my heart and to have trust in these things which are given to me, because He himself is the guide and director of wisdom.'

There follow in the same place words which can be suitably put forward as in keeping with his character: 'He himself has granted me knowledge of the disposition of the world and the virtues of the elements, of the beginning, and ending, and midst of the times'; and below, 'of the revolutions of the year, and the disposition of the stars.' The wise enquirer can make trial of all these things in his writings. Moreover many things might have been said of this same teacher or his precepts, if my bodily lips possessed sufficient wisdom of speech. It is not my desire that it should lie hidden how that same Bede separates the four seasons, dividing them into two solstices and equinoxes. The first is the summer solstice, from the twelfth day before the Kalends of July (June 21) to the twelfth day before the Kalends of January (December 21), which is called the winter solstice. The second is the winter solstice, which is from the twelfth day before the Kalends of January to the twelfth day before the Kalends of July. In these two solstices there are 365 days and 6 hours, since twice 182 make up the days as we have already said. The spring equinox will be from the twelfth day before the Kalends of April (March 21) to the twelfth day before the Kalends of October (September 20), which amounts to 182 days. The autumn equinox, which is (from) the twelfth day before the Kalends of October, has the same number of days as the former one, which added together make up 365 solar days and a quarter.

If anyone does not know this or gainsay it, let him read the words of the thirtieth chapter [of the *De Temporum Ratione*], and he will find that it is actually the case. The beginning of our year, which we commence in January, many begin in March. On this ambiguity or disagreement he pronounces as follows in the twentieth chapter: 'But to others it seems more fitting and more expedient by far, that all reckoning, in so far as it is not contrary to the demands of reason, should start from what is also among the Romans the beginning of its year, and should run on in fixed and undisturbed order to the end of the year.'

By these words we are to understand that we take the beginning of our year, as the Romans do, from the Kalends of January, from which we have taken the divine festivals, and that we end it on the second day before the Kalends of January (December 31) which is the last of their days. These things have been set forth by us in elaborate words, but expressed in a manner becoming our affection for him, who contributed to the utmost of his power to the honour of the Church of God. We must believe that the spirit which had been beset and weighed down by the body and yet earned the privilege of beholding the invisible God in a vision, much more now, when laden with the rewards of his merits, deserves joyfully to perceive the God of Gods in Zion, which is the name given to vision by mystical

interpretation. Let us indeed implore the free Grace of God unwearyingly, in order that God, who enriched him with so many ineffable gifts, may at any rate afford to us, who dwell in the vale of this fatherland, the sweetness of the desire for heaven, so that we may be strong to the end, to behold with pure eyes the fountain of pure light, which is God.

Finally, after setting forth this epilogue, I will turn to the recapitulation of the whole book, since, after the completion of this, there are the sayings of the wise Abbo, disciple of Father Benedict, by whose benevolence we have gained knowledge of this subject and skill in other things. Likewise the last part of this book makes a most fitting conclusion with the commentaries of the eloquent Hericus.

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DIE VORLÄUFER DES GOLIAS

VON BORIS I. JARCHO

INHALT [1]

[1] Um die mehreren angeführten autoren, bzw. ausgaben in möglichst knapper form zitieren zu können, werden folgende abkürzungen häufig benutzt:

A: *Die gedichte des Archipoeta*, hgg. M. Manitius, 'Münchener Texte,' heft 6, München, 1913.

Bas. Kl.: der sogenannte Basler Kleriker, hgg. J. Werner in *Nachrichten* der kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. kl., 1908, ss. 449 f.

Cant.: Carmina Cantabrigiensia oder *Cambridger Lieder*, hgg. K. Strecker, Berlin: Weidmann, 1926.

C.B.: Carmina Burana, hgg. J. A. Schmeller, 3te aufl., Breslau, 1894.

De Pascha, hgg. L. Traube in *P.L.A.C.* III, 232–237 (Sedulii Scotti Carmina, III).

De Rect. Christ. : Liber de Rectoribus Christianis, hgg. L. Traube in *P.L.A.C.* III, 154–166; die römischen zahlen beziehen sich auf die gedichte.

DuMéril: E. DuMéril, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1847).

Eug. Vulg.: Eugenius Vulgarius, *Sylloga*, hgg. P. v. Winterfeld in *P.L.A.C.* IV, 1, 406 f.

Micon: Micon von Sankt Riquier, hgg. L. Traube, *P.L.A.C.* III, 272 f.; die römischen zahlen beziehen sich auf die gedichte.

P.L.A.C.: Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae Latini Aeui Carolini.

Pr.: 'Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Meister Hugo von Orleans),' hgg. W. Meyer, *Nachrichten* der kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. kl., 1907, ss. 75 ff.

Sed.: Sedulii Scotti Carmina II, hgg. L. Traube in *P.L.A.C.* III, 166–232; die römischen zahlen beziehen sich auf die in dieser gruppe befindlichen gedichte.

Wal.: Walahfrid Strabo, hgg. in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges*, II, 2.

WCh.: *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, hgg. v. K. Strecker, Berlin, 1928.

Wright: Thomas Wright, ed., *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (Camden Soc. Publ., No. xvi), London, 1841.

1. Goliarden und Goliasdichter

a. *De gente Goliae*

Es ist jedenfalls sonderbar, dass in den so und so vielen schriften über den ursprung der goliardendichtung, die älteste erwähnung der '*gens Goliae*' niemals ernstlich verwertet worden ist. In dem scherzhaften epos des Sedulius Scottus, '*De quodam Verbece a Cane discerpto*,' heisst es nämlich von dem diebe, der den widder raubte:

> Quidam latro fuit nequam *de gente Goliae*.
> (xli, 43)

Kann sich dieser ausdruck auf den philister Goliath beziehen? Kann er überhaupt als ἅπαξ λεγόμενον einen sinn haben? Der biblische Goliath tritt nicht als lämmerdieb auf. Sedulius selbst gibt ein ganz anderes bild, wenn er von diesem Goliath sprechen will:

> Tuncque Golias obiit superbus,
> *Magna* qui *belli* fuerat *columna*.
> (*De Rect. Christ.* viii, 25 f.)

So scheint es, dass in den oben zitierten versen der '*gens Goliae*' eine andere bedeutung innewohnt. Es liegt nahe zu vermuten, dass 'Golias' bereits in zusammenhang mit '*gula*' gebracht worden ist da der dieb nach dem leckeren bienen strebt. Jedenfalls aber muss '*gens Goliae*' *schon um diese zeit* (*ca.* 848) ein allgemein verständlicher ausdruck gewesen sein, der sich auf eine bestimmte sorte von leuten bezog und komisch wirken konnte. Das vorhandensein dieser benennung um die mitte des IX. jahrhunderts unterstützt die bekannte angabe der *Statute* des Walther von Sens (*Patr. Lat.* CXXXII, 717, 718).[1]

[1] Die echtheit der *Statute* ist schon vom herausgeber bezweifelt worden (*ed. cit.*, s. 717): '*Recentiorum uero sunt temporum constitutiones Walterio ascriptae, in quibus prioratus conuentuales, canonici regulares, moniales nigrae, uocabula insolita erant saeculo nono.*' Jedoch Mr J. W. Thompson hat bewiesen (*Studies in Philology* XX, 1921, 83 f.), dass diese bedenken ungerechtfertigt sind und dass die *Statute* volkommen in den rahmen des IX.–X. jahrhunderts passen. Wenn er dann (*art. cit.*, s. 97) zugibt, dass 'the phrase "*de familia Goliae*" *may* be an interpolation inserted by some copyist later when Goliath's name had already become associated with the Goliardi,' so ist auch diese einschränkung nach dem von uns angeführten Seduliuszitat nicht mehr nötig.

Sind die *Statute* (die nur etwa fünfzig jahre jünger sein sollen, als Sedulius) echt, so ergibt sich der sinn des ausdruckes von selbst:

> Statuimus, quod *clerici ribaldi*, maxime qui uulgo dicuntur de *familia Goliae*, per episcopos, decanos, archidiaconos, officiales, et decanos Christianitatis tonderi praecipiantur, uel etiam radi, ita quod eis non remaneat tonsura clericalis; ita tamen, quod sine periculo et scandalo ista fiant (cap. xiii).

So wären die goliarden schon im IX. jahrhundert mit den späteren vaganten identisch, und bei Sedulius fänden wir die *älteste erwähnung* dieser kaste.

Nun stellt es sich aber heraus, dass Sedulius Scottus nicht bloss mit den goliarden bekannt war; sondern er weist in seinen leben und schaffen eine so grosse ähnlichkeit mit den autoren der goliardenlieder auf, dass er von rechtswegen deren vorläufer genannt werden darf. Dies zu begründen, ist der zweck des vorliegenden aufsatzes. Natürlich kann hier nur von einer ähnlichkeit gesprochen werden, wie sie zwischen dem kinde und dem reifen menschen besteht, aber unverkennbar bleibt sie doch.

b. *Seruus et poeta*

Wie müssen wir uns die autoren der vaganten- oder goliardenlieder vorstellen? Man glaubt schon immer weniger daran, dass es ganz heruntergekommene landstreicher gewesen sind.[1] Ganz bestimmt waren sie scholares und litterati; höchst wahrscheinlich sind in ihrer schar die verschiedensten stufen der klerikalen hierarchie vertreten. Am richtigsten hat wohl Lehmann (s. 37) die wirkliche sachlage geschildert:

> Die sogenannte vagantendichtungen sind durchaus nicht nur von vagierenden klerikern verfasst, sondern nicht selten bloss in stil und laune der fahrenden schüler gehalten . . . So hat gar oft ein braver klostermann, ein kirchentreuer pfarrer, ein wohlbestallter domherr, ein strenger und gelahrter professor im zorne oder in froher stunde . . . poeme verfasst, die man getrost zur vagantenpoesie zählen kann.

[1] Vgl. Henning Brinkmann, *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), ss. 31, 32.

Aus dieser bunten gesellschaft heben sich aber diejenigen hauptfiguren heraus, deren autorschaft sicher bezeugt ist und an deren gedichte der name Golias mit vorliebe geknüpft wird, so dass J. H. Hanford (SPECULUM I, 1926, 38–58) sie in diesem sinne mit einem gewissen recht die 'progenitors of Golias' nennt: der Primas und der Archipoeta. Der lebenslauf und die soziale lage dieser männer lassen sich kurz durch folgende merkmale charakterisieren:

1. Sie sind litterati und poetae. 2. Sie wechseln ihren wohnsitz, verweilen aber längere zeit an einem ort. 3. Sie verdienen ihr brot an den höfen geistlicher fürsten, ohne dabei ein amt zu bekleiden, lediglich durch schriftstellertum.

1. So ein intellektueller von freiem beruf ist auch Sedulius gewesen; alle obengenannten merkmale passen auf ihn. Er nennt sich häufig '*sophus*' und '*sophista*,' gelegentlich auch '*uates*' (vii, 17), '*poeta*' (xxxvi, 22) und 'gemahl der Muse' (vii, 75). So ist auch der Primas '*enutritus in Piero, eruditus sub Homero*' (xxiii, 82), '*uates*' (xv, 90), und der Archipoeta (Erzdichter) nennt sich '*poeta*,' '*uates*,' '*scholaris*' (A, vii, 17, 20, 22).

Was die vermählung mit der Muse betrifft, so ist besonders die stelle zu notieren, wo Sedulius sich mit dem verlassenen Orpheus, die Camoena aber mit der Euridice vergleicht:

> *Rauca* sonabat enim pastorea fistola nostra . . .
> Indoluit tam grande nefas uerbosa Camena
> Et cigneos uultus abdidit ipsa suos . . .
> Ast ego maestificus tristabar Musicus Orpheus,
> *Euridice* liquit me quoque sponsa mea.
> (vii, 5–11)

Vergleiche die *Carmina Burana*, 154, 3:

> Cantus rhytmici
> iocis refici
> Musa laetatur,
> *rauca* praecatur,
> suae reddatur
> *uates Euridici.*

Bezieht sich die '*Euridice*' auf die Muse selbst, oder auf die in strophe 2 erwähnte geliebte? Ist ersteres der fall (die Muse, welcher

der liebeskranke Orpheus untreu gewesen ist, will wieder mit ihm vereint sein), so ist die parallele vollständig. Tritt aber die Muse nur als *fürbitterin* auf, so ist das auch ein dem Sedulius bekanntes motiv:

> Pro nobis nostrum, Musa, rogato patrem.
> (xlix, 12)

2. So geht Sedulius, als fahrender Orpheus [1] von land zu land. Wir sehen ihn zuerst in Irland, dann in Lüttich und in Köln (vgl. L. Traube, *Abh. der Kgl. Bayer. Akad. des Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., XIX, 1891, 342, 343); die spuren seiner genossen führen nach Italien, aber ob er selbst dort gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht mit sicherheit sagen (s.u. § 2e, s. 558). In den beiden genannten deutschen städten hat er sich wohl sehr lange aufgehalten, besonders in Lüttich. So finden wir auch den Primas in Beauvais, Sens, Amiens, Reims und Paris, den Archipoeta — in Köln, Vienne und Pavia; auch Walther von Châtillon, bis er es zum canonicus gebracht hat, war in Lille, Châtillon, Bologna, und Reims sesshaft. Dabei betrachtet sogar der unsteteste von den dreien, der Primas, einen zweimonatigen aufenthalt, als kurzen besuch (xvi, 87: *nec fui spacio duorum mensium*).

3. Man sieht, die bezeugten Goliasdichter *sind nicht mit dem literarischen typus des goliarden identisch*, wie er uns z. b. bei Wright (s. 86) entgegentritt, die '*non inuitati*,' aber '*prandere parati*' in den bischöflichen palast treten und nur mit widerwillen zugelassen werden, um gleich wieder abzuziehen:

> Episcopus: Non ego curo uagos, qui rura, mapalia, pagos
> perlustrant, tales non uult mea mensa sodales
> Te non inuito, *tibi consimiles ego uito;*
> me tamen inuito potieris pane petito.
> Ablue, terge, sede, prande, bibe, terge, *recede.*

[1] xlix, 9: *sum Musicus alter et Orpheus.* Mit dem Orpheus vergleicht sich auch der Primas, nachdem er die Camoenen (xvi, 117) angerufen hat, und, als erste, die Calliope, der auch Sedulius huldigt:

> Tu enim cantabis dulcius Sirene
> Dulcius Orpheo, seu cigno sene.
> (xvi, 127)

Der Primas aber wird in einem guten hospiz in Sens aufgenommen, zwei knaben bedienen ihn (xvi). Dem Sedulius und seinen genossen wird von Hartgar ein zwar schlechtes, aber doch stetiges wohnhaus angewiesen. Am besten ist seine stellung in Lüttich der des Archipoeta in Köln zu vergleichen. Die lateinisch dichtenden poeten nahmen an den höfen der bischöfe dieselbe stelle ein, wie die deutsch und provenzalisch singenden ministerialen in den burgen der ritterschaft. Sie gehörten zu 'des milten bischofes ingesinde.' So nennt sich der Archipoeta gegenüber dem erzbischof Reinald '*seruus et poeta*,' '*poeta tuus*' (A, vi, 3), so auch Sedulius gegenüber dem bischof Hartgar: '*Sedulius famulus tuus*' (ix, 26), '*Sedulius uester*' (vii, 75), '*Orpheus uester*' (vii, 79). Wichtig ist es, dass er kein kirchliches amt inne hat,[1] auch keine beamtenstellung (wie etwa Walther von Châtillon in Reims) bekleidet, ja nicht einmal magister ist. So steht er (mit seinen genossen) *abseits von allen kontinentalen karolingischen dichtern und bildet einen besonderen sozialen typus*. Er ist ein fahrender, ein kuckucksei im sprengel. Er geniesst keinen festen gehalt, sondern ist auf geschenke angewiesen, ganz wie der spätere Golias (s. 567 u.). Sein sozialer rang ist keinesfalls höher.[2] Dass er an einer königlichen gesandtschaft aus Irland teilgenommen haben soll, ist Traubes vermutung (*loc cit.*, s. 342), wird aber durch nichts bestätigt; ja es ist kaum denkbar, dass eine gesandtschaft in dem kläglichen und zerlumpten zustande in Lüttich angelangt wäre, welchen Sedulius (in iii) beschreibt. Wenn er sich öfters an gekrönte häupter mit seinen panegyrischen gedichten wendet, so ändert das nichts an der sache, sondern verstärkt vielmehr seine ähnlichkeit mit dem Archipoeta. Singt Sedulius z. b.:

Fulgide Caesar, aue, nunc mundi doxa, Lothari,
(lix, 1)

[1] Sagt er (iii, 13, 14): '*Nos . . . doctos grammaticos presbiterosque pios*,' so zeigt das nur, dass unter den iren ein oder zwei priester waren; sich rechnet er wahrscheinlich, zu den grammatici. Jedenfalls spricht er nirgends mehr von seinem priesteramt; er steht zu keiner kirche in engerer beziehung. Ob er die weihe empfangen hat, ist unsicher.

[2] Der Archipoeta war z.b., '*ortus ex militibus*.' Zu derselben gruppe gehört auch der Basler Kleriker; er ist pfründenlos, arm (*Bas. Kl.* iv, xxvii, xlv) und ernährt sich von den gaben des bischofs und seiner angestellten (vii, viii, xiv, xlii), denen er dafür lobeslieder spendet.

so dichtet auch der Archipoeta für Friedrich Barbarossa:

Salue, mundi domine, Cesar noster aue.
(vii, 1)

Beide tun es nämlich im auftrage ihres bischöflichen herren. Das meiste, was uns vom Archipoeta erhalten ist, sind scherzhafte lieder, deren er sich bediente, um vergebnis seiner sünden oder eine gabe zu erlangen. Aber auch ernste aufträge ergingen an ihn von seiten der erzkanzlers, wie das eben zitierte gedicht zeigt.[1] Auch Sedulius hat scherzgedichte zu demselben zwecke erzeugt, die ihm auch das gewünschte einbrachten:

Ast his *uersicolis risit pius ille* relectis,
Ac sophicis uotis prospera cuncta dedit.
(ix, 27)

Aber ihm sind solche nugae natürlich nebensache. In dieser hinsicht gleicht er eher dem Walther von Châtillon, der neben epischen gedichten und theologischen traktaten auch vagantenlieder gedichtet hat und den wir noch öfters zum vergleich mit Sedulius heranziehen werden.

Die soziale und finanzielle lage des Sedulius müssen wir jedoch viel niedriger anschlagen, als diejenige Walthers. In diesem punkte unterscheidet er sich keineswegs von den 'progenitors of Golias.' 'Gelehrtenproletariat, aber kein gaunertum': so möchten wir Spiegels formel für diese *dichterklasse* modifizieren.

Hier aber beginnt ein dilemma. '*Gens Goliae*,' '*familia Goliae*,' '*goliardi*'[2] — das sind ja, wie wir sahen '*clerici ribaldi*,' '*fures*' (IX. jahrhlundert), zudringliche, kaum geleidete parasiten (s.o.

[1] Es ist die erfüllung des im Archipoeta, vi, besprochenen befehls Reinalds:

4. Iubes angustissimo spacie dierum
me tractare seriem augustarum rerum . . .
5. Vis, ut infra circulum parue septimane
bella scribam forcia breuiter et nane.

Bella fortia hat auch Sedulius besungen (xxxix, xlv).

[2] In die kontroverse über die priorität von 'Golias' oder 'goliardus' wollen wir uns nicht einlassen; sie ist, bis auf entdeckung neuen materials, fruchtlos.— J. W. Thompsons geistreiche vermutung (*art. cit.*, s. 96: *goliardi* < *gula* + *ardeliones*) erweckt vom sprachgeschichtlichen standpunkte manchen zweifel: keine ähnlichen formen sind bezeugt. Woher der deklinationswechsel? Wie und wann ist das suffix *-el* abhanden gekommen? Wo doch '*goliard* von '*Golias*' eine ganz ungezwangene bildung ist, wie '*frocard*,' '*richard*,' '*soudard*' und drgl.

Episcopus et Goliardus — XII. jahrhundert). Die soziale lage der obengenannten dichter ist doch jedenfalls wesentlich von diesem gesindel verschieden. Wie kommt es denn, dass ihre lieder mit dem 'Golias' in verbindung erscheinen, öfters dessen namen im titel führen (vgl. Hanford, *art. cit.*, s. 39)?

Wir glauben, dass sich 'Golias' gar nicht auf den leiblichen dichter dieser gedichte bezieht. Der Golias ist vielmehr ein konvenzionelles symbol, sozusagen, der *genius tutelaris* einer literarischen richtung. In dieser figur wird der vagabund typisiert und idealisiert, als epikuräer und enfant terrible, als unerschrockener frondeur und geistreicher wahrheitsager — kurzum, ein westlicher Bekri-Mustafa. Er erlebte ungefähr dieselbe behandlung, wie heutzutage der 'apache' im music-hall, oder der 'picaro' im Spanien des XVI. – XVII. jahrhunderts. Es bildete sich in den gelehrten geistlichen kreisen eine besonder 'goliardendichtung' heraus, gerade so wie bei den rittern und bürgern (Adam de la Hale) des XII. u. XIII jahrhunderts eine schäferpoesie entstand. Der prototypus dafür, der reelle tonsurierte landstreicher, war vielleicht noch weniger kultiviert und geistreich, als die reelle schäferin. Aber der dichter stellt sich selbst als 'goliarden,' als träger der vagantenpsychologie hin.[1] Dabei ist der Primas ebensowenig identisch mit dem 'Golias' oder '*discipulus Goliae*,' wie Grimmelshausen mit seinem Simplicissimus. Bedenken wir, dass Hariri, der autor der arabischen schelmenweisheit ein solider, begüterter herr gewesen ist. Man bediente sich der grotesken figur des Golias, um komische und weltliche motive in literarisches gewand zu kleiden. Solch ein konvenzionelle vermummung war natürlich für die *dienenden poeten* schiklicher, als für hohe geistliche herrren und sogar für monachi regulares, zu denen die meisten lateinischen dichter der zeit gehörten.

Sedulius ist, wie wir sahen, ein vertreter eben dieser dienenden berufsliteraten, ganz wie die späteren Goliasdichter. Sedulius kennt schon die '*gens Goliae*' *und verwendet sie zu komischem zwecke* in

[1] Darum gebrauchen wir im folgenden die traditionellen benennungen (vaganten und goliarden) auch für die dichter, jedoch mit dem vorbehalt, dass, wenn jemand von dem 'vagantenorden' sagt '*nostra docet regula*,' '*noster ordo prohibet*,' so muss er darum ebensowenig ein gauner, wie der dichter der pastourelle ein schäfer sein. Steht doch z.b. auch im vagantenliede (*CB.*, lxii, 16): 'Sumus pastores *nos* egregii, procuratores gregis regii.'

seiner dichtung.[1] So ist es denn sicherlich kein zufall, dass wir gerade bei ihm solchen gedichten begegnen, die eine vereinigung von motiven und stilistischen kunstgriffen aufweisen, welche sich vielfach mit dem gedanken- und wortschatze der 'goliarden' decken. Aber hier verlassen wir die biographie und betreten das bereich der dichtkunst.

2. Goliardenmotive bei Sedulius Scottus

a. *Poeta pauperior omnibus poetis*

'*Sepe de miseria mee paupertatis / conqueror in carmine uiris litteratis* (A, vi, 20).' Aus der feder muss Sedulius sein täglich brot gewinnen, und das ist nicht immer eine ergibige quelle. '*Quid ego miser faciam, qui nec agros colo,/ qui nec fur, nec mendicus, neuter esse uolo?* (A, vi, 19; *C.B.*, cxiv, 4).' Und, leider, sind er und seine irischen genossen den leiblichen genüssen von herzen ergeben. Darum charakterisiert sich seine dichtung, *soweit sie autobiographisch ist*, durch dieselben leitmotive, wie die der Goliasdichter: *armut* und *weltliche freuden*. Sich und die seinen nennt Sedulius '*Scottigenae egeni*' (i, 39):

> Nec nos oblectat praediues copia rerum,
> Sed nos excruciat horrida *pauperies*.
> (ix, 3)
> paupertatem meam non taceo.
> (A, ii, 36)
> *Pauperie* mea conteste,
> patet manifeste . . .
> (*C.B.*, cxcvii, 3)
> Paupertatis pondus fero.
> (Pr., xxiii, 70)
> Pauper et absque cibo nates operire nequibo.
> (Bas. Kl., xlv)

Ja dasselbe schimpfwort '*pestis*' gebraucht der Archipoeta in bezug darauf (A, viii, 77: *Paupertatis premor* peste) wie Sedulius für

[1] Er ist möglicherweise sehr oft mit ihnen zusammengekommen, da doch ein grosser teil dieser '*deceptores, gyrovagi et cursores*' (zit. bei J. W. Thompson, *art. cit.*, s. 90) aus seinen landsleuten, den iren, rekrutiert wurde. Die worte Walahfrids (*Vita S. Galli*, II, 47, zit. ebd.): '*de natione Scottorum quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conuersa*,' sind für uns besonders wertvoll, weil sie von einem *zeitgenossen des Sedulius* geschrieben worden sind.

seine hungersnot, und gleicherweise flehen beide den bischof um heilung an:

Hanc igitur *pestem* uincat clementia uestri . . .
(Sed., xxxvi, 10)

Ecce Ionas tuus plorat . . .
ut a *peste*, qua laborat,
soluas eum . . .
(A, viii, 45 f.)

Wem soll er seine not klagen? Natürlich nur den geistlichen herren, denn nur diese verstehen seine kunst zu würdigen (*laici non capiunt illa quae sunt uatis*). '*Ubi uero uictum quaero, nisi clero? . . . Onerosus et quo ibo? Ad laicos non transibo. Parum edo, parum bibo*' (Primas, xxiii). So sehen wir auch Sedulius, sich mit seinen bettelliedern an bischof Hartgarius und an einen Rotbertus wenden, den er auch '*celse pater*' nennt (xxxvi, 5). Auf diese '*largi praesules*' (A, vi, 25) [1] stützt er seine hoffnung (ob Wulfengus ein laie war, ist unsicher):

O decus eximium, nostrae *spes* aurea Musae (*sc.* Rotbertus).
(Sed., xxxvi, 1)

Archicancellarie, *spes* et uita mea.
(A, vi, 33)

Archicancellarie, *spes* et mea solus.
(*ib.*, 29)

Von dem herren erwartet er trost und obdach:

Per te Scotigenis requies praestatur *egenis*.
(Sed., i, 39)

Rot- bone, sint nobis per te *solacia*, -berte.
(Sed., xxxvi, 3)

Mihi uero *egenti / solamen* impendatis.
(*C.B.*, cxcviii, 4)

Denn er ist an die äussersten grenzen der not angelangt:

Nos *sitis* atque *fames* conturbat, bestia duplex.
(Sed., ix, 1)

quod tam *siti* quam *fame* pereo.
(A, ii, 36)

[1] Sedulius nennt seinen wohltäter auch '*large praesul*'; so verstehe ich den vers ix, 25:
Large, salutiferum contra uulnuscula, *praesul*,
Sedulio famulo da cataplasma tuo.

Ebenso A, xxxvi, 9: *dira fames.* Aber auch von der kälte wird der irische Goliasdichter des IX. jahrhunderts geplagt, ganz wie der französische und deutsche im XII-ten:

Nos tumidus *Boreas* uastat . . .
(Sed., iii, 13)
. . . pellantur *frigora* multa
(*ib.*, x, 11)
Pauper mantelle, macer absque pilo, sine pelle
Si potes, expelle, *Boream* rabiemque procellae
Sis mihi pro scuto, ne *frigore* pungar acuto.
(Pr., ii, 9)
Frigore siue fame tolletur spiritus a me.
(A, i, 16)
Frigoribus densis incedam more Galensis
Vel sicut Scotus nudus genitalia totus.
(Bas. Kl., xlv, 8)

Kurzgesagt: '*Nihil nobis paupertatis, sed ad diues omnia,*' wie der satiriker von Gloucester singt.[1] Der goliarde kann nicht umhin, sein elend (*uatis inopia*) mit dem wohlstand seines gönners zu vergleichen:

Unde sepe lugeo, quando uos ridetis.
(A, vi, 17)

Sedulius schreibt ein ganzes gedicht, in dem er um bessere wohnung bittet und das in form einer antithese zwischen dem palast des bischofs und dem erbärmlichen quartier der irischen 'sophoi' aufgebaut ist:

Vestri tecta nitent luce serena.
(Sed., iv, 1)
Nostri tecta nigrant perpete nocte.
(*ib.*, 11)

Hier sei aber gleich der kapitale unterschied hervorgehoben, der unseren Sedulius von den goliarden des XII. jahrhunderts trennt: der hass gegen die reichen überhaupt und die geizhälse im besonderen ist ihm gänzlich fremd. Die *auaritia*, gegen die sogar Walther von Châtillon eifrig auftritt, wird nur beiläufig im *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis* unter den übrigen lastern erwähnt. Im gegenteil, fehlt

[1] Siehe Du Méril, s. 215; W. Meyer (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1908, 412).

es nicht bei Sedulius an lobeserhebungen des gütigen spenders. Er wird '*bonus uir*' (lviii, 1), '*largus*' (ix, 25), '*pius*' (ix, 27, xxxvi, 21 u. a.) genannt (vgl. A, x: '*optime vir*,' '*pius*,' '*largus*'), wenn er die seufzer des dichters erhört. Es bedarf nur einer geringen gabe, damit der hungerleidende sich 'bereichert' fühlt:

Et nos uestiuit, triplici *ditauit* honore.
(Sed., iii, 25)
Me *ditauit* ita noster bonus archileuita.
ditauit Boso me munere tam precioso.
(Pr., xiii)
Vestra quidem bonitas uestrum *ditabit* amicum.[1]
(*ib.*, xvii, 7)

Es handelt sich, in erster linie, um speise und trank:

Fronte serenifica quos aspicis, *optime pastor* . . .
(Sed., i, 41)
Tecmine quos *uestis*, quos *pascis* et, inclite praesul:
Pascis eosque *cibo*, pascis et ingenio.
(*ib.*, 43)
Abbas *bonus pastor* est et me bene *pauit*.
(A, ix, 25)
Plus dedit ille pius, nam roscida munera Bachi:
Ter centum fialas donauerat ipse poetae.
(Sed., xxxvi, 21)
Hic michi, non aliis, uinum habundauit.
(A, ix, 25)

Auch die kleider, der typische lohn des fahrenden sängers, fehlen nicht: *Dent nobiles dona nobilia, aurum*, uestes *et his similia* (A, ii, 40).[2] Dass es schon damals 'getragene wât' waren, lässt sich vermuten, aber nicht beweisen:

Praesulis eximii clementia mentis serena . . .
. . . nos *uestiuit* . . .
(Sed., iii, 21–25)
Caesaris illustris furuum decorate *poetam*,
Tradite uersifico *dalmaticamque* uiro.
(Sed., xvi, 17, 18)

[1] A, viii, 75: *scribam tibi, si me* ditas.

[2] Die erwähnung von kleidergeschenken beim Primas sind so häufig, dass sie nicht zitiert zu werden brauchen.

Largissimus largorum omnium,
presul dedit mihi hoc pallium.
(A, ii, 39)

Einmal hat Sedulius sogar von Kaiser Lothar solch einen lohn empfangen:

Is me uestiuit praeclara *ueste poetam*
(xxvi, 9)
Poeta composuit racionem rithmicam . . .
Unde bene meruit mantellum et tunicam.
(A, iv, 11)

Bas. Kl., vii (im akro- u. mesostichon):

Cantor Dietrice, me laetitifica pie *ueste*.

Für diese güte verspricht der goliarde seinem brotgeber ihn ausgibig zu besingen:

Erraui numero: potius millena sonabo
Milleque myriades canto salutis opes.
(Sed., xxvi, 3)
Gutture sic liquido nam uos mea Musa sonabit,
Aethiopissa loquax *saturataque carmina* dicet.
(*ib.*, xxxvi, 19)
Tradite uersifico dalmaticamque uiro:
Tunc me nec uincent septeno gutture *cigni*,
Plus uos organicis tunc resonabo tropis.
(*ib.*, xvi, 18–20)

quantum sis largus, *largo michi* munere prodas.
inde poeta tuus scribam tibi *carmen* et odas.
(A, x, 40)
Poetrias inauditas / scribam tibi, si me ditas.
(*ib.*, viii, 74)

Vergleiche auch Primas:

Tu [sc. Primas] enim cantabis dulcius Sirene,
dulcius Orpheo ceu *cigno* sene . . .
. . . cum tibi dabuntur due mine plene.
(xvi, 127)

Quisquis *Homerus* amat hoc nomen dicere uersu
Laudibus egregiis . . .
(Sed., xii, 61, 62)

. . . *Omeri*
Laus tibi praeberi decet, hanc scis ipse mereri
Non parcens eri mihi, quaeso, uelis misereri.
(Bas. Kl., xiv, 5)

Das übrige wird ihm der liebe Gott heimzahlen. Die glückwünsche sind wenig bezeichnend, denn sie kommen ja sonst in episteln und panegyrischen dichtungen häufig vor. Die themata sind: langes leben, ruhm und lohn im himmel.[1] Aber wichtig für die betteldichter ist das gleichnis, das der goliarde aufstellt zwischen den ihm vom irdischen herren verehrten nahrungsmitteln und der himmlischen kost, die des wohltäters im jenseits harrt:

Qui tristibus Falerna
Largiri gaudes dona,
Poteris fonte uitae
Alma sanctorum sorte.
(Sed., lviii, 49–52)

Prestet uobis creator Eloy
caritatis lechitum olei,
spei uinum, frumentum fidei
et post mortem ad uitam prouehi.
(A, ii, 44)

[1] Der vollständigkeit halber werden auch hier parallelen aus der vagantenpoesie angeführt:

Idcirco uestrum nomen, laus fama per aeuum
Peruolat in terris, scribitur atque polis.
(Sed., i, 47)

Scandere sic ualeas caelestia templa beatus.
(*ib.*, iii, 19; ähnlich, iv 46–49).

. . . (sic sic scandatis in astra) . . .
Sic uobis magna et *tribuatur gloria* palmae.
(*ib.*, xxxvi, 5, 15)

Laudes gliscunt Roberti . . .
Longaeuum fac Robertum.
(*ib.*, lviii, 2, 4)

Presul dedit mihi hoc pallium,
magis habens in celis premium,
quam Martinus, qui dedit medium.
(A, ii, 39)

Christus tibi *tribuat* annos et trophea
et nobis facundiam, ut scribamus ea.
(A, vi, 33)

. . . . . Cui sit *gloria*,
et gratia et copia
omnium bonorum per secula seculorum.
(Pr., xvi, 155)

Nobis uero mundo fruentibus
uinum bonum sepe bibentibus,
sine uino deficientibus
nummos multos pro largis sumptibus.
(*ib.*, 45)

So haben wir der reihe nach alle peripetien des bettelliedes durchmustert. Es bleibt noch übrig einen kompositionsgriff herauszuheben, den Sedulius in iii, ix, und xxxvi, also in drei von den neun bettelliedern [1] gebraucht. Nämlich die bittschrift schliesst mit einem epilog, der von der bereits stattgefundenen erfüllung der bitte berichtet. In iii sind es sechs verse (21–26: *Praesulis eximii clementia / . . . nos uestiuit, triplici ditauit honore. / Et fecit proprias pastor amoenus oues*), in ix sind es zwei (27, 28: *Ast his uersicolis risit pius ille relectis . . .* s. o., s., 532), in xxxvi ebenfalls zwei (21, 22: *Plus dedit ille pius, nam roscida munera Bachi: / Ter centum fialas donauerat ipse poetae*). Diese verse sind, wahrscheinlich später, nach der erfüllung der bitte, hinzugedichtet worden, um dem freigibigen gönner ein denkmal zu setzen.

So singt der Primas sein xvi. lied, um hafer und stroh zu erbetteln:

Nostra Calliope, nunc michi subueni . . . (ut) munus merear auene et feni (100).

Il me fesist grant bien ad unguem, ad plenum,
S'il me volsist doner auenam et fenum
Seignors, ker li preiez propter Nazarenum
Quod ipse dignetur praestare auenam et fenum (141 f.)

Aber am ende des gedichtes stellt es sich heraus, dass er das gebetene bereits erhalten hat, da ein weitherziger herr die für die fourage verpfändeten gegenstände ausgelöst hat:

Mais mis sire Richarz, quem misit Anglia
super me commotus est misericordia . . . (147)

Dona mei une fustainne et uadimonia
insuper redemit, cui sit gloria
et gratia et copia
omnium bonorum per secula seculorum (153 f.)

[1] Sed. i, iii, iv, ix, x, xvi, xxxvi, xlix, lviii.

Auch der Archipoeta beendet ein lied mit dem bericht, wie gut es ihm gegangen ist.

> Interim me dominus iuxta psalmum Dauid
> regit et in pascue claustro collocauit.
> hic michi, non aliis, uinum habundauit;
> abbas bonus pastor est et me bene pauit.
> (A, ix, 25)

Das ist eine manier, und Sedulius ist der erste unter den karolingischen dichtern, der sie einführte, ja der erste, der das bettellied mit den wichtigsten elementen versehen hat, welche dieser gattung bei den Goliasdichtern eigen sind (s. u. § 4a, s. 566).

b. *Alte clamat Epicurus: / Venter satur est securus*
(*C.B.*, clxxxvi)

Ebenfalls ganz abgesondert von allen seinen zeitgenossen und vorläufern steht Sedulius mit dem offenen geständnis seiner vorleibe für weltliche freuden, nämlich für speise und trank. Man weiss, dass dies gerade stets als merkmal der vagantenpoesie gilt. Vielleicht ist diese freie aussage als ein privileg ihres standes anzusehen, denn Sedulius und die goliarden sind im gegensatz zu den übrigen dichtenden zeitgenossen weder priester, noch mönche, sondern '*mundo fruentes*,' wie der Archipoeta sagt, und darum durch keine hypokrisie zum schweigen gezwungen. '*Sum bos triturans, prospera quaeque uolo*' (Sed. xlix, 10). Unter den '*prospera quaeque*' versteht er aber (ebenso wie unter den '*prospera cuncta*' in ix, 28) die freuden der '*gula*.' In dieser hinsicht ist er ein wahrer sohn des 'Gulias' und steht keineswegs hinter der 'Confessio' des Archipoeten zurück. So bekennt sich Sedulius zu den Scotigenae, '*qui bene mandere scimus*' (xxxvi, 18), '*uel quos benefaciat pinguis assatura*,' wie es in dem liede von dem vagantenorden heisst (vgl. Lehmann, *Die Parodie*, s. 225). '*Vescor, poto libens*,' sagt Sedulius von sich selber, aber in einem merkwürdigen kontext, der besonders erötert werden muss. 'Der gedanke an Gott und an meine sünden verlässt mich niemals — so lautet das leitmotiv des kleinen gedichtes lxxiv, das aus drei distichen besteht. Der dichter zählt seine täglichen beschäftigungen auf. In erster linie kommt die wissenschaft, die ihn doch

nicht davon abhält den Herrn stetig anzurufen (vv. 1, 2). Darauf folgen in einem hauch: essen, trinken, dichten, schlafen:

Vescor, poto libens, rithmizans inuoco Musas,
Dormisco stertens: oro deum uigilans.
(lxxiv, 3, 4)

Ganz sonderbar klingen in dem andächtigen liede die ausdrücke '*poto libens*,' '*dormio stertens*' (letzteres in diesem zeitalter fast ausschliesslich in scherzhaften context gebraucht).[1] Sie geben uns ein bild des epikuräers, wie er im vagantenliede gezeichnet ist:

Super potum, super escam
Dormiam et requiescam.
(*C.B.*, clxxxvi, 5)

Auch nicht zufällig sind dichten und schlemmen in einem verse vereinigt (über die erwähnung des gebetes — s. u. § 3a, s. 560), denn bei dem goliarden geht das eine ohne das andere nicht. Des iren feder erlahmt, wenn er kein hammelfleisch zu essen bekommt.

Te sine, multo fleo: *scribere non ualeo*
(Sed., x, 24)

Scribere non ualeo pauper et mendicus
(A, vi, 16)

Nihil ualent penitus, que ieiunus scribo.
(A, iii, 18)

Mihi nunquam spiritus poetrie datur,
Nisi prius fuerit uenter bene *satur;*
Dum in arce cerebri Bachus dominatur,
In me Phebus irruit et miranda fatur.
(*ib.*, 19)

Auch bei Sedulius erwacht die Muse nach guter speise:

Quaesumus, ut multis multetur multo superbus
Nobis Scottigenis, hunc qui bene mandere scimus:
Gutture sic liquido nam uos mea Musa sonabit
Aethiopissa loquax *saturataque* carmina dicet.
(xxxvi, 17–20)

[1] Z. b. in Alcuins *Disputatio Albini* und in der komischen szene in Hrosvithas *Dulcitius*.

Was die speisen selbst betrifft, so unterscheidet sich hier Sedulius von seinen genossen des XII. jahrhunderts durch den leidenschaftlichen kultus des hammels,[1] den wir bei den späteren goliarden nicht finden. Die '*ingentes bachones*' (Sed., lviii, 27) kommen dort auch nicht vor. Der abt, über den Golias (Wright, s. xl ff.) herfällt, hat einen ganz anderen geschmack: — '*Abstinetne ab omni* carne?' — '*Non, sed a quadrupedibus tantum.*' Das menu hat in den dreihundert jahren eine evolution durchgemacht. Denn Sedulius verschmäht keine sorte von fleisch:

> Heu — quam multiplicis defit substantia *carnis*,
> Quam mitis tellus generat, *quam roscidus aether*.
> (xlix, 7, 8)

Im letzten punkte aber stimmt er doch mit dem obengenannten abt überein: '*Remittis itaque, domine abbas, gutturi tuo ea*, quae sursum leuantur in aera. . . . *Remittis, inquam, gurgiti tuo pauones, cignos, grues et anseres* . . .' Die speisekarte des abtes ist natürlich viel reicher als die des Sedulius; aber wir müssen nicht vergessen, dass auch in den *liedern* der vaganten dieses thema niemals detailliert wird, sondern gewöhnlich nur '*cibus*' (vgl. auch Sed. i, 44) oder '*cena*' im allgemeinen vorkommt: das material ist spärlich. So genügen die in diesem abschnitt angeführten ausdrücke, um eine leidliche brücke zwischen den '*gulosi*' der beiden zeitalter zu bauen.

c. *De diligendo Lyaeo*

Viel näher berühren sich die gedichte des Sedulius mit den vagantenliedern in den topoi des weintrinkens, denn in diesem punkte ist beiderseits die terminologie sorgfältig elaboriert. Von dem wein sagt Sedulius:

> Haec *suxi* — non negabo,
> Haec *sugam:* sicera, abi.
> (lviii, 55, 56)
>
> Tercio capitulo memoro tabernam:
> Illam nullo tempore *spreui* neque *spernam*.
> (A, iii, 11)

[1] Iuro per hos digitos, quod in hoc non mentior unquam:
Tales quod cupio, diligo, semper amo.
(Sed., xli, 15)

Man kann nicht genug betonen, dass nichts desgleichen vor Sedulius in der ganzen merovingischen und karolingischen literatur zu finden ist. Das wort '*uinum*' kommt aber bei ihm nur einmal (xxxii, 31) vor; sonst gebraucht er symbolische ausdrücke, die wir sämtlich bei den vaganten wiederfinden: 'Bacchus' wird acht mal erwähnt, 'Lyaeus' vier mal; auch der äusserst seltene 'Liber' kommt einmal vor.

Bacchus wird sonst in der karolingischen dichtung sehr oft genannt; das geschieht aber entweder beiläufig, oder denn mit abscheu und verachtung.[1] Vergleiche bei Alcuin (*P.L.A.C.*, I, 270): '*Heu male pascit eum Bacchus, reor*, impius *ille*.' Oder (*ib.*, 271): '*post* stulti *pocula Bacchi*.' *Ib.*, 250: '*Vae tibi, Bacche pater!*' (s. u., § 4b, s. 570). — Bei Hraban Maurus (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 185): '*Impia Bacchi pocula*.'

Ganz anders fallen die epitheta des Bacchus und Lyaeus bei Sedulius aus. Hier heisst er '*optimus*' (xxxii, 26) und, als wein, '*clarus*,' '*dulcis*' (*ib.* 24 und 30), '*dulcifluus*' (ix, 5), '*purus Lieus*' (lviii, 26). Anstatt '*Vae tibi, Bache pater*' steht hier (xxxii, 28) '*Liber adesto pater*.'

Bei den goliarden ist Bachus gang und gäbe. 'Lyaeus' finden wir beim Primas (xiv, 1; vgl. daselbst, anm. s. 150). Unter den vielen epitheten des weines finden wir '*optimus*' (Primas viii, 16), '*liquor optimus*' (Saufmesse: P. Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, 67), '*clarus*' (DuMéril, s. 204), '*dulcis*' (*ib.*), '*purus Bacchus*' (*C.B.* clxxvii, 1).[2] Die '*munera Bachi*' (Sed. xxxvi, 21) (alias '*dona Liei*,' ix, 5) erscheinen, z.b., in *Carmina Burana*, clxxviii, 12. Das ist jedoch durchaus nebensächlich, denn der Virgilianische ausdruck ist ein gemeinplatz bei den karolingischen dichtern. Dasselbe gilt von '*Falernum*' (Sed. xxxii, 29), '*dona Falerna*' (*ib.*, lviii, 49, 50), — ein ausdruck der sogar öfter bei den *poetae Carolini*, als bei den vaganten[3] vorkommt.

Die trefflichste analogie aber bietet der gebrauch des *Liber*. Das

[1] Mit ausnahme des Ermoldus (s. u., s. 543).

[2] '*Bachus pater*' fanden wir nur im späteren trinkliede (DuMéril, s. 210). Ganz anderen ursprungs ist natürlich der '*Pater Bache, qui es in cifis*'— in der Saufmesse (s.o.).

[3] Vgl. Lehmann, s. 176: '*Viuat in aeternum, qui dat nobis uinum Falernum*.'

alte, noch bei Petron und Horaz, vorkommende wortspiel '*Liber: liber*' wird von Sedulius wie von den vaganten verwendet:

Hic est *libertas*, *Liber* hic liberat omnes:
Liber ut esse queam, Liber adesto pater.
(xxxii, 27)

nam qui *Liber appellatur*
libertate gloriatur.
(*C.B.*, 179, 5)

Dieser wird niemals verflucht oder geschändet, sondern vielmehr angerufen:

Bachus sit *miti in ore.*
(Sed., lviii, 16)

Assit mihi Lieus.
(*ib.*, 18)

Bachum colo. . . . quia uolo, ut *os meum* bibat.
(*C.B.*, 177, 1)

Bacche beneuenies, / gratus et optatus.
(*ib.*, 178, 1)

Denn der wein bringt lust und freude:

Inclitus hinc fratrum coetus pia *gaudia ducit*,
Hic das *laetitiam*, clare Liee, nouam.
(Sed., xxxii, 23, 24)

. . . ne sternat forte Falernum,
Sed nos *laetificet dulce* madoris ope.
(*ib.*, 29)

Vinum bonum mihi suaue . . .
Cunctis dulcis *sapor* aue,
Mundana *laeticia.*
(DuMéril, s. 204)

Et nos cum uoce iocunda
Deducamus gaudia.
(*ib.*, 205)

Variante bei Lehmann (*Parodie*, s. 176):

Aue, color uini *clari*, . . .
Tua nos *laetificari*
Dignetur potentia.

In diesem punkte hat aber Sedulius gewissermassen einen vorläufer unter den dichtern des IX. jahrhunderts, nämlich den Ermoldus Nigellus (w. 826), der dem weine nicht so gram zu sein scheint, wie sein zeitgenosse Hraban. Er erwähnt den Bachus sehr oft, spricht mitunter von den '*praedulcia Bachi uina*' (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 7) und den '*laeta Falerna*' (*ib.*, 83), sagt sogar:

Laetificatque bonus mox pectora fortia *Bacchus.*
(*P.L.A.C.*, ii, 73)
Bacchus et exhilarans *gaudia* larga daret.
(*ib.*, 83)

Der kapitale unterschied zwischen den beiden dichtern besteht aber darin, dass Ermoldus diese ausdrücke in beschreibenden und erzählenden liedern gebraucht und *niemals auf sich selber bezieht.* Dagegen, ist es, wie gesagt, ein specificum des Goliasdichters, dass er mit seiner feuchtfröhlichkeit renommiert. So hat der Archipoeta, so der Primas, so auch unser Sedulius getan.

Neben dem wein, erscheint auf der tafel der irischen 'sophoi' noch der '*medus*' (Sed. ix, 6; xlix, 6). So auch in *Carmina Burana*, clxxxvi, 4:

Ruit uenter in agone: pugnat uinum cum *medone.*

Sonderbarerweise bedeutet die '*Ceres,*' wo sie bei Sedulius erscheint (ix, xlix) niemals das brot, sondern das *bier, cereuisia* (was schon Traube, *P.L.A.C.*, III, 768, eingesehen hat). Dieses widerspricht dem sprachgebrauch der geistlichen poeten des VIII. und IX. jahrhunderts, bei denen Ceres stets als ähre oder als brot figuriert. Dagegen aber in der *Apokalypse des Golias*, 369:

Resumens *poculum* tractum *a Cerere.*

Immer wieder wird Sedulius den zeitgenossen abtrünnig, um dem standesgenossen Golias die hand zu reichen.

Sein verhalten der Bier-Ceres gegenüber bleibt unklar, oder, vielmehr, schwankend. In dieser hinsicht scheint unser '*sophus*' ein anhänger der relativitätstheorie zu sein: denn, mit der abscheulichen '*tenuida*'[1] verglichen, ist das bier '*Cereris dulcida progenies,*' '*Flaui-*

[1] Nach Traube (*P.L.A.C.*, III, 177 anm.) = dünnbier.

comae Cereris gratia dulcis' (Sed., ix, 12, 8); wird dem iren aber wein angeboten, so heisst es:

Haec sugam: *sicera, abi.*
(Sed., lviii, 56)

Unter '*sicera*' ist sicher das bier gemeint, wie auch ein an Sedulius anklingender vers eines anderen iren (*ca.* 856–860) bestätigt:

Hinc, *cereuisa abeas:* uocitatus nomine prisco,
Ut tua praeualeant munera, Bache, ueni.
(*P.L.A.C.*, iii, 690)

Vergleiche auch *Neues Archiv*, XIII (1888), 361: *non habens ad manducandum et bibendum, nisi pessimum panem et minimam particulam de pessima ceruisa.* Also schon damals unterschied man zwischen biergästen und weingästen. Auch dem Golias ist dieser unterschied sehr geläufig:

Quid nos spectat paupertatis?
Habet parum, habet satis,
postquam uenit non uocatis
ad nostrum conuiuia . . .
Habet tantum de hic potus,
quod conuentus bibit totus
et cognatus et ignotus
de *aegri seruisia.*
(DuMéril, s. 216) [1]

Die '*tenuida*' ist ein ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

Was die *gefässe* betrifft, in denen der trunk aufbewahrt oder dargereicht wird, so besteht hier eine grosse diskrepanz zwischen Sedulius und den goliarden. Die den letzteren geläufige '*lagena*,' '*crater*,' '*uas*,' '*calix*' fehlen bei Sedulius; auch '*scyphus*' steht nicht im entsprechenden kontext. Hingegen haben wir die '*cacaui*' (Sed., ix, 7) und '*fialae*' (Sed., xxxvi, 22) des Sedulius vergebens bei den goliarden des XII. und XIII. jahrhunderts gesucht (vgl. u., § 4b,

[1] Vgl. P. Lehmann, s. 176, 177:
Vinum bonum et suaue
bibit abbas cum priore,
sed conuentus bibit male.
Virgo Mater, aspice.

s. 570). Gemein sind ihnen die im IX. jahrhundert [1]) sehr häufigen '*pocula*' ('*p. felicia*,' Sed., xxxii, 25), welche bei den vaganten oft erscheinen (z.b. *C.B.*, clxxvii, clxxix, clxxx, cxcv).

Aber die echte, die zweifellose brücke bildet der mit wortspiel begleitete '*modius*' in den '*Verba Comoediae*' des Sedulius, wo er das trinkgelage beschreibt:

> Nos, fratres, modicum uini modiumue bibamus,
> *Bachicus* in cunctis sit *modus* uel *modius*.
> (xxxii, 31, 32)

> Cum inter fabulas et *Bacchi pocula*
> modum et regulam suspendit crapula,
> dicunt quod dicitur fauor a fabula,
> *modus a modio*, a gula regula.
> (*Apokalypse des Golias*, 389)

Das ist der schlagendste von allen einzelnen berührungspunkten. Denn hier haben wir direkten hinweis auf eine in gewissen kreisen übliche redensart, auf einen stereotypen witz. Und nun finden wir diesen Goliaswitz bei den '*bibaces*' (Sed., xxxii, 38) des IX. jahrhunderts wieder; es sieht ganz so aus, als ob zwischen ihnen und den '*bibuli*' des XII. jahrhunderts ein ununterbrochene tradition wirkte, ja es ist fast mit sicherheit zu behaupten.

Die '*bibaces*' selbst werden bei dem gelage mit '*fratres*' angeredet:

> Nos, *fratres*, modicum *uini* modiumue *bibamus*.
> (Sed., xxxii, 31)
>
> Sed nos, eximii *fratres*, laetemur . . .
> (*ib.*, 43)
>
> ubi *uinum* . . . potant nostri *fratres*.
> (*C.B.*, 177, 4)

> Omnis ergo noster *frater*
> *bibat* semel, bis, ter, quater.
> (Lehmann, s. 179)
>
> . . . *fratres* potatores, ut *bibatis* . . .
> (*ib.*, Saufmesse, s. 60)

[1] Vgl. z. b. Candidus, '*Vita Aeigili*' (*P.L.A.C.*, ii, 107): '*pocula laeta*,' (Virg., *Georg*, ii, 383).

Denn der goliarde liebt es nicht allein bei tisch zu sitzen:

> Largum habens dominum nolo parcus esse,
> nolo sine socio mea frui messe.
>
> (A, vi, 31)

So hört man auch Sedulius in seinen bettelliedern stets für seine genossen sorgen und mit ihnen das geschenkte teilen.

Wir sehen, die meisten ingredienten des trinkliedes haben sich als vaganten-topoi herausgestellt. Was die *aduocatio Dei* betrifft, mit der Sedulius' lied xxxii endet, so wird von ihr unten (§ 3a, s. 560) die rede sein.

Wei gesagt, decken sich die '*potatoria*' des Sedulius fast vollständig mit goliardischem stoff; nicht aber umgekehrt. Das thema wird bei den vaganten viel breiter behandelt. Wir können hier unmöglich alles aufzählen, was bei Sedulius nicht vorhanden ist, aber auf den wichtigsten punkt wollen wir doch aufmerksam machen. Niemals erwähnt Sedulius die *taberna;* so fehlen bei ihm auch alle motive und bilder die damit verbunden sind, wie der wirt, das spiel, die bezahlung, u. s. w. Sedulius schmaust zu hause (oder bei dem gönner), so tut auch der Primas; aber schon der Archipoeta begnügt sich nicht immer damit: '*Mihi sapit dulcius uinum de taberna, / Quam quod aqua miscuit praesulis pincerna*' (iii, 13, 14). Ihm folgen die unbekannten autoren der *potatoria* in den *Carmina Burana*, wie auch die spiel- und saufmessen.

Hier hat wahrscheinlich eine allmähliche evolution stattgefunden, und man muss nicht vergessen, dass unser Sedulius am äussersten greifbaren anfange dieser reihe steht.

d. *Tempus adest floridum*

Zu den weltlichen genüssen gehört auch die naturfreude der vaganten. Uns interessiert aber nicht die naturschilderung an sich, sondern nur als kompositiongriff. Wir wollen hauptsächlich vom sogenannten *natureingang* sprechen, dessen primordia bereits Henning Brinkmann[1] mit dem namen des Sedulius in verbindung bringt.

[1] *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), ss. 48, 49.

Sonderbar ist aber, dass der gelehrte forscher nur ein gedicht zitiert (Sed., lxiii), und zwar gerade ein solches, wo kein regelrechter natureingang vorhanden ist, sondern die naturbilder über den ganzen text verstreut sind und sich besonders am ende (*id.* 21 ff.) anhäufen. Das kommt natürlich davon, dass Brinkmann den natureingang unbedingt aus der hymnendichtung herleiten will, ohne dabei irgendeine passende parallele zu zitieren, die älter wäre als das XII. jahrhundert; diese späten hymnen sind aber für die these unbrauchbar, wo doch im XII. jahrhundert die vagantendichtung selbst in blüten stand, und es daher unsicher ist, wie wir uns das verhältnis denken müssen.

Viel richtiger hätte der forscher geurteilt, wäre er seiner bemerkung über Walahfrid Strabo (*loc. cit.*) und besonders über Sedulius nachgegangen. Es würde sich dann herausstellen, dass der natureingang der vaganten nicht in hymnen, sondern in eklogen, bettelliedern freundschafts- und begrüssungsgedichten seine erste anwendung findet.

Bei Walahfrid sehen wir zwei regelrechte natureingänge,[1] von denen einer noch ganz schüchtern auftritt, da er eine ekloge (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 370) einleitet und sich sehr nahe an die *Bucolica* anschmiegt:

> *Cur non*, dulce decus, quoniam se contulit hora,
> Et *uer floriferis laetum* se subrigit *austris*
> Magnus et ardentem gradibus legit *aethera Phoebus*,
> Iam spatiis creuere dies, dulcescit et umbra,
> In *flores partusque nouos* et *gaudia* fructus
> *Herba* recens, *arbos* datur et genus omne animantum
> Quod mare, quod *siluas*, quod rura, quod *aera* tranat,
> Quaerere me pateris, te respondere petitis?
> (Wal., xxii, 1)

> *Cur non*, Mopse, boni quoniam consueuimus ambo
> tu calamos inflare leuis, ego dicere uersus,
> hic corylis mixtos inter consedimus ulmos.
> (Virg., *Ecl.*, v, 1)

Neu ist jedenfalls das *frühlingsthema*.

Der zweite (*P.L.A.C.* II, 405) ist ganz kurz, aber viel interessanter, denn er scheint durch keine bekannte tradition bedingt zu

[1] Ueber den 'mondeingang' (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 403), s.u., s. 551.

sein. Er erscheint am anfang eines begrüssungsliedes an Kaiser Lothar (*ca.* 830–840), wo er an sich nicht notwendig ist, und also als schmuck fungiert:

> Innouatur nostra laetos terra *flores* proferens
> *uer nouum* praesentat aestas, dum datur te cernere.
> (Wal., lxiii, 1)

Hier ist auch ein wichtiges element des natureingangs vorhanden, nämlich die logische verbindung mit den gefühlen des dichters. Bei Micon von Sankt Riquier (*ca.* 825–853) fängt ein spottlied (*P.L.A.C.*, III, 362; s. u. § 4c, s. 572) mit einer naturszenerie an, die einer einzigen vers umfasst:

> Inter *florigeras* lenti dum sedimus *herbas* . . .[1]

Der vagantensatire sind solche liederanfänge fremd.

Aber zur wirklichen *manier* gedeiht der natureingang erst bei Sedulius Scottus, dessen gedichte sechs regelrechte natureingänge, von dener nur einen in der *Ekloge*, aufweisen. Das sind: Sed., vii, xix (mondeingang), xlix, lxx, lxxvii, lxxxi (*Ekloge*).

Ausgeschlossen werden die scheinbaren natureingänge im *De Rectoribus Christianis* (cap. xiv, xvii, xviii),[1] da es nur 'naturgleichnisse' sind, z. b.:

> *Quam* lux rutilo noua caelo . . .
> (xiv, 1)
> *Quam* ros sitientibus aruis . . .
> (*ib.*, 5)
> *Sic* praeueniente piaclo
> Animae fit cara medela.
> (*ib.*, 9)

Der typische natureingang beschreibt eine *realität*, eine wirkliche situation, die dem folgenden als hintergrund dient. Sed. iii passt nicht hierher, denn das *ganze* gedicht ist eine schilderung der kälte, die den dichter und seine genossen peinigt. Was die naturbeschreibungen im inneren der gedichte (z. b., vi, lxiii) angeht, so werden wir sie nur als hilfsmittel bei der besprechung der topoi ausnützen.

[1] *P.L.A.C.*, III, 161 ff. Vgl. V. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus* (in Traube's *Quellen u. Untersuchungen*, I, 1, München, 1906), s. 62 ff.

Das vergleichsmaterial wechselt hier beträchtlich: weder der Archipoeta, noch der Primas (die wir bis jetzt hauptsächlich ausgebeutet haben) bedienen sich des natureinganges, denn dieser ist im XII. und XIII. jahrhundert mit einer ausnahme (*C.B.*, clxxx: Kneiplied) den liebesliedern reserviert.[1] So kommen hier in erster linie Walther von Châtillon und *Carmina Burana*, der Basler Kleriker und teilweise die *Cambriger Lieder* in betracht.

Da der ersten Renaissance das liebeslied vollständig fehlt (s. u., § 2 f, s. 559), so werden bei Sedulius dem natureingang andere gefühle folgen; die konstruktion aber bleibt die gleiche: naturbild + lyrischer teil. Diese beiden teile sind nun bei den vaganten (dort, wo der eingang nicht blos eine szenerie zu pastourelle u. drgl. bildet) entweder positiv oder negativ verbunden, d. h. die im liede beschriebenen gefühle entsprechen der jahreszeit (*C.B.*, xcv: '*grando, nix et pluuia sic corda reddunt segnia*'), oder sie kontrastieren mit ihr (*C.B.*, lvi: *nunquam amans sequi / uolo uices temporum / bestiali more*). *Dieses ist ein für vaganten und troubadouren typischer kunstgriff, den wir bei Sedulius zum ersten male verwirklicht sehen.*

Sedulius kennt beide formen. *Positive bindung* finden wir im freundschaftsliede:

> Cana hienps celerat glacialibus *horrida* crustis . . .
> (lxx, 5)
>
> *Horrida* plus aspris sunt haec mihi tempora ramnis,
> Quod mihi sophistae pastor amoenus abest.
> (lxx, 11, 12)

Ebenso im begrüssungsliede lxxvii und in vii. *Negative bindung* liegt im bettelliede vor:

> Nunc mare, nunc tellus, nunc caeli sidera rident.
> Ast nos tristificis perturbat potio sucis,
> Cum medus atque Ceres, cum Bachi munera desint.
> (xlix, 4–6)
>
> Heu pro tantis gaudiis tantis inflor suspiriis.
> (*Cant.* 40)
>
> Modo frigescit quidquid est, sed solus ego caleo.
> (DuMéril, s., 236)

[1] In WCh., 30 ist nur symbolisch vom '*uer pacis*' die rede.

Eine untergattung der positiven bindung ist es, wenn der dichter die Muse im winter schweigen, im sommer singen lässt:

Floridus ecce uenit: campi, florete patentes;
Florescant siluae: floridus ecce uenit . . .
Obsecro: prome tonos, septimplex fistola Musae;
Exuperans cignos, obsecro, prome tonos.
(Sed., lxxvii, 1, 2, 5, 6)

Sed cum florigeri miscuerunt tempora ueris,
Dulcisonis cecinit Calliope modulis.
(*ib.*, vii, 13, 14)

Musa uenit carmine,
dulci modulamine:
pariter cantemus;
ecce uirent omnia,
prata, rus et nemus.
(*C.B.*, 108, 1)

Hinsichtlich des entworfenen naturbildes werden die typischen eingänge in frühlings (v) und wintereingänge (h) geteilt. Neben '*uer*' kommt auch '*aestas*' vor. Häufig (in *C.B* — 16/17 mal, bei WCh — 2 mal) erscheint eine variation des frühlingseingangs, in welcher der entweichende oder vorübergegangene winter dem blühenden lenz entgegengestellt wird; damit kann auch stimmungswechsel verbunden sein:

tempore brumali uir patiens, animo uernali — lasciuiens.

Walahfrid kennt von diesen gattungen nur den frühlingseingang; Sedulius beherrscht sie alle.

Wintereingang hat Sed. lxx (6 verse). Also — 1 h:4v. Dieser typus ist überhaupt selten: *Cant.* kennt ihn nicht (also 0 h: 2 v), WCh. hat 2h:7v, *C.B:* 4h:*ca.*40v. *Sommereingang* erscheint in Sedulius vii, xlix, lxxvii und lxxxi, davon einmal in der *Ekloge* (lxxxi) und einmal im *begrüssungsliede* (lxxvii); letzteres ist besonders wichtig, wegen der anlehnung an Walahfrid (s. u. die topoi, s. 562 ff.). Das gedicht xlix ist ein bettellied. Die obengenannte *variation des sommereingangs* gebraucht Sedulius in vii: 'während des winters war der dichter schweigsam und betrübt (*tristabar*, 11); aber jetzt kommt der frühling, und seine Muse singt von neuem und flösst ihm *noua gaudia* (25) ein.

Aber damit ist Sedulius' reichtum noch nicht erschöpft: auch der äusserst seltene '*mondeingang*' kommt bei ihm vor. Etwas ähnliches ist wiederum unter Walahfrids gedichten gedruckt (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 403). Das gedicht gehört aber ganz bestimmt nicht dem Strabo, wie wir unten (§ 4b, s. 571) zeigen werden, sondern ist jünger als Sedulius' lieder:

Enitet ecce polo iam nunc plenissima luna,
Gaudia plena notans enitet ecce polo.
(Sed., xix, 1)

Cum splendor *lunae* fulgescat ab *aethere* purae,
Tu sta sub diuo cernens speculamine miro,
Qualiter ex luna splendescat *lampade* pura
Et splendore suo caros amplectitur uno
Corpore diuisos, sed mentis amore ligatos . . .
(Wal., (?) lix, 1)

Hoc saltim nobis lumen sit *pignus amoris.*
(*ib.*, 7)

Dum Diane uitrea / sero *lampas* oritur . . .
dulcis aura zephyri, / spirant omnes *etheri*,
nubes tollit, / sic emollit
ui chordarum pectora,
et inmutat / cor, quod nutat
ad *amoris pignora.*
(*C.B.*, 37, 1)

Die ähnlichkeit der *Carmina Burana* mit den anonymen versen des IX. (X.?) jahrhunderts ist auffallend. Diese aber, als anfang eines freundschaftsliedes, bilden ein mittelding zwischen den liebesliedern der *Carmina Burana* und Sedulius. Bei Sedulius ist der mondeingang schon ganz regelrecht geformt: der naturvorgang ist gegenwärtig und mit dem gefühl des dichters verbunden, nähmlich mit den '*gaudia*', die so oft in den natureingang der vaganten hineingewebt sind (s. u., s. 554).

So ist der ganze rahmen des natureingangs nach demselben modell gegossen, wie bei Walther von Châtillon und in den *Carmina Burana*. Nun werden wir zeigen, das auch die ausfüllung dieses rahmens in vielen punkten zusammenfällt. Es werden im folgenden

die wörtlichen berührungen aufgezählt; mit sternchen (*)[1] bezeichnen wir die vokabeln, welche nicht aus einem eingang, sondern aus einer naturbeschreibung im inneren eines Sedulius-gedichtes geschöpft sind. Ungenaue zusammenhänge werden in eckige klammern ([ ]) eingeschlossen.[1] Walahfrid und andere karolingische dichtungen (s. u., § 4d, s. 577) werden auch berücksichtigt.

a) Elemente, meteorologische vorgaenge u. drgl.

aera Wal., xxii, 8; WCh. 24.

aestas Wal., lxiii, 2 (uer nouum praesentat aestas); *C.B.*, 31 (uer aestatem nuntiat).

aether Wal., xxii, 3; Sed., xlix, 3; Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 6; *C.B.* 54.

**agri* *Sed., vi, 32 (florigeri); Bas. Kler., xl, 24 (uirent) [vgl. seges].

**Aquilo* *Sed., iii; *C.B.*, 32.

auster Wal., xxii, 2; *Carmina Scottorum*, vii, 4, 1 [*PLAC.*, iii, 690: flatibus austrl]; Bas. Kler., xl, 10 (*Flauit auster*).

[*autumnus*] Sed., lxx, 4; WCh. 21 (autumnali frigore).

**Boreas* *Sed., iii, 1 (Boreae flamina); Sed., *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv, 7 (Boreae post frigora *saeua*); WCh. 21; *C.B.*, 103 (*saeuum* spirans Boreas); Bas. Kler., xxxiii, 1 (Boreali *saeuitia*).

[glacies] Sed., lxx, 5 (glaciales crustes); WCh. 18, 21; *C.B.*, 98.

**grando* **De Rect. Christ.*, xvii, 4; *C.B.*, 95, 106.

hiems Sed., vii, 2 (*cana*), lxx, 5 (cana, *horrida*); *C.B.*, 48, 54, 55 (frigus *horridum*), 57, 98, 102 (*tempus transit horridum*, frigus hiemale), 106, 107.

**imber* *Sed., lxii, 3; WCh., 24.

luna [s.o., s. 551]

Phoebus Wal., xxii, 3; *De Rect. Christ.*, iv; Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 4; *C.B.*, 31, 44, 49 u. ö.

polus Sed., xix, 1, 2, lxx, 2; Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 4; WCh., 32.

[*ros* *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv, 5; WCh., 28 (nouum), 31; *C.B.*, 54; DuMéril, 232].

sidera Sed., xlix, 4; WCh., 23; *C.B.*, 65.

tellus Sed., lxxxi, 2, 9, 34 (s. u. uernare); WCh., 24; *C.B.*, 54, 55, 88, 111 (floret), 113 (uernat).

tempus Sed., lxxvii, 3 (tempora ueris); *C.B.*, 34 (tempore uernali), 121 (ueris tempore) u. ö.; [P. Lehmann, *Parod. Texte*, s. 64: 'In uerno tempore potatores loquebantur ad nuicem'].

terra Wal., lxiii (terra innouatur); *C.B.*, 65 u. ö.; *C.B.*, 53 (tellus renouatur; *Cant.* 40).

**Titan* *Sed., iii, 11; *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv; WCh., 32.

uer Wal., xxii, 2 (laetum), lxiii, 2 (uer *nouum*); Sed., viii (*pictum*),[2] Sed. vi (*nouum*), *Sed., lxiii, 1 (Veris pulcher honos), Sed., lxxvii, 3; *Cant.* 10 (uere nouo), 40; Anhang [*Cant.*, p. 111, *saec.* X] (*pulcher* ualet uer in silua); WCh. 28, 31; *C.B.*, 55, 98, 99 u. ö.

uernare Sed., lxxxi, 2 (uernabat *tellus*); *CB.*, 113 (uernat *tellus*) u. ö.

[1] Die parallelenliste wird, wahrscheinlich, nicht erschöpfend sein. Für die bemerkten unvollkommenheiten wird dem günstigen leser im voraus gedankt.

[2] Virg. *Ecl.*, x, 74.

β) Pflanzenreich

campus *Sed., vi, 15, xlix, 1 (florent), lxxvii, 1 (florete); *C.B.*, 54(reuirescit).

florere Sed., xlix, 1, lxxvii (s. o. campus); *C.B.*, 55, 104, 111 u. ö.

flores Wal., xxii, 5 (*flores*, partusque *nouos*), lxiii, 1; *Sed., lxiii, 22; *Cant.* 40; WCh., 23, 28 (flos *nouus*), *C.B.*, 53, 55 u. ö.

florescere Sed., lxxvii, 2; (*CB.* 135).

**floridus*[1] *Sed., vi, 49 (uitis); *C.B.*, 54, 55,u.ö.

floriger Wal., xxii, 2 (floriferi), Micon, clxi, 1 (florigerae herbae); *Sed., vi, 31, 32 (campi, agri), *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv, 9 (uer); *C.B.* 43 (tempus).

rons Sed., vii, 1; *Cant.*, 40; WCh. 28; *C.B.*, 42, 103 u. ö.

germen Sed., xlix, 1; *Cant.* 10 (cum telluris *uere nouo* producuntur germina).

herba Wal., xxii, 7; Micon, clxi, 1; *C.B.*, 52; DuMéril, 232.

[**lignum* *Sed., lxxi, 19) symbolisch: flores ligno uitae); vgl. *Cant.* 40 (ligna florentia)].

nemus *Carmina Scottorum* (s. u., § 4d, s. 575); *C.B.*, 41, 53, 108, 118.

**oliua* *Sed., vi, 49; WCh., 23; *C.B.*, 52.

partus (terrae) Wal., xxii, 5; *C.B.*, 55 (tellus . . . in partum soluitur).

[peplum telluris] *Sed., lxiii, 22 (*pictum*), Sed., lxxxi, 2 (uarium); WCh. 19 (*picta tellus*); *C.B.*, 65 (*picto* terrae gremio *uario* colore), 109 (*tellus* flore *uario* uestitur), 116 (*tellus picta* flore); DuMéril, 226 (*picto* terrae corpore).

prata Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 2; *C.B.*, 107, 108, 114, 118.

seges Sed., xlix, 1 (segetes uiridant); *C.B.*, 37 (segetes maturas).

silua Wal., xxii, 8; Sed., lxxvii, 2 (*florescant* siluae); *Cant.* 23, 40); *C.B.* 55, 101, 112 (*floret* silua), 116, 135 [*Sed., iii, 9: Labuntur subito siluoso uertice crines; vgl. *C.B.*, 56: Saeuit aurae spiritus et arborum comae fluunt penitus].

[*uiridare* Sed., xlix, 1; (WCh., 26, 31, *C.B.*, 114 — uirere)]

uitis *Sed., vi, 49 (*florida*), Sed., xlix, 2; *Sed., lxii, 9; *C.B.*, 96 (*florent* uites).

umbra Wal., xxii, 4; *C.B.*, 52.

γ) Tierreich

aues Sed., lxxvii, 3 (*celebrant*); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 5 (*aues canunt* et *dulcia*); *Cant.*, 23 (aues sic cunctae *celebrant* . . .); WCh., 25; *C.B.*, 115 (aues nunc in silua *canunt*) u. ö. (s. u. 'cantus,' 'uolucres').

cantus Sed., xlix, 3 (*permulcent aethera* cantu); *Sed., lxiii, 23 (*id.*); WCh., 23, 1 (Progne modulo *mulcet aera*), 23, 3 (*cantus*); *C.B.*, 41 (cantus auium), 100, 103 u. ö.

organula *Sed., lxiii, 24; Sed., lxxvii, 4 (uolucrum); *Cant.* 10 (dulcis philomela daret suae uocis organa).

**philomela* *Sed., *De Pascha*, ii, 21, 22 (Nunc uariae uolucres permulcent aethera cantu, / Temperat et pernox nunc philomela melos); WCh., 23; *CB.*, 34 (54), 102, 109.

uolucres Sed., xlix, 3 (pictae), *Sed., lxiii, 21 (uariae), *De Pascha*, ii, 21 (*id.*); *Cant.* 40; (WCh. 19); *C.B.* 55, 103, 104 (*dulce canunt* et uolucres), 108.

[1] Bei Sedulius oft für menschen. Auch im natureingang lxxvii, 2, bezieht sich '*floridus*' auf den fürsten (*Florescant siluae: floridus ecce uenit*).

δ) GEFUEHLE

gaudium	Wal. xxii (g. fructus); *Sed., vii, 25 (*noua* g.); Sed., xix, 2 (plena g.); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 2 (formosa gaudent omnia); *Cant.* 40; (WCh., 19); *C.B.* 31, 49a (p. 136: *noua* gaudia), 53, 100 (uer cum gaudio), 106, 110 (ueri dare sua gaudia), 135, 164.	*ridere*	Sed., xlix, 4 (mare . . . *tellus* . . . caeli sidera rident); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 3 (praecordia); *C.B.* 55 (ridet terrae facies), 101 (Phoebus) 107 (prata, terrae facies), 165 (prata).
		[*tristari*	Sed., vii, 11 (im winter); *C.B.* 95 (uenit cum tristicia grando, nox et pluuia)]
**laetari*	*Sed., lxiii, 4 (l. orbis); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 3 (laetentur sonata): *C.B.* 116 (l. auis).		

Man sieht, es ergibt sich ein nicht zu verachtendes vocabularium; besonders wenn man bedenkt, dass mehr als drei jahrhunderte die karolingischen natureingänge (Walahfrid und Sedulius) von den vagantischen (Walther von Châtillon) trennen, so wird man gestehen müssen, dass sich recht viel hinübergerettet hat.[1] Die gleichheit der strukturformen (s. o., s. 551) und die vielen berührungen im bilderschatz zwingen uns an eine ununterbrochene tradition zu denken, von der Eugenius Vulgarius und die *Cambridger Lieder* eine ahnung geben (s. u., § 4d, s. 577).

e. *Utar contra uicia carmine rebelli*

Wenn Golias die weltlichen genüsse entbehren muss, so ist ihm eine verbitterte lebensanschauung eigen: *in hac uita misere uiuitur* (A, ii, 15). Seine oben (§ 2a, s. 531) geschilderte finanzielle lage wirkt nicht eben ermunternd. Und wie leicht geht solch ein persönlicher missmut in weltschmerz über.[2] Alles hinieden erscheint ihm als unsteter wahn (*uanitas est omne quod cernitur*). Es ist kein zufall, dass in dem grossen vagantencodex, den *Carmina Burana*, das bild der '*Rota Fortunae*'[3] obenan gesetzt ist, um als symbol des ganzen zu dienen. Auch unserem Sedulius ist dieses bild nicht fremd.

[1] Wir geben hier eine (ganz willkürliche) auswahl von ausdrücken aus Sedulius' natureingängen, die wir bei den vaganten nicht gefunden oder nicht bemerkt haben: *arua*, *cana* (hiems), *flamina*, Lucifer, *mare* (Sed. u. Wal.), *Nothus*, *nubila*, *susurri* (*auium* — WCh., 17: *fontium*), *turgescere*.

[2] Vgl. *C.B.*, lxxxvi, 1: *Versa est in luctum cythara Waltheri,/non quia se ductum extra gregem cleri / uel eiectum doleat . . . sed quia considerat, quod finis accelerat inprouisus orbi.*

[3] Vgl. H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), s. 164.

Ceu *rotae* cyclus celeri recursu
Voluitur, summas reprimitque ad ima,
Quas rota partes rapidum per axem,
Mobilitate:
Regna sic mundi trifidum per orbem
Gloriae celsum stabilire culmen
Nesciunt lapsum . . .
(*De Rect. Christ.* v, 1–7)

Sors inmanis / et inanis, / *rota* tu uolubilis.
(*C.B.*, i, 2)

Fortune rota *uoluitur*,
descendo minoratus,
alter in altum tollitur
nimis exaltatus;
Rex sedet in uertice,
caueat ruinam . . .
C.B., lxxvii, 3.

Darum ist Golias einerseits zum *moralisieren*, anderseits zur satire und hauptsächlich zur *diatribe* geneigt.

Sedulius ist uns hauptsächlich als moralist bekannt, als verfasser des *De Rectoribus Christianis* und zusammensteller der *Prouerbia graecorum* (Hellmann, *op. cit.*, 122). Nun sind auch bei den goliarden die moralisch-didaktischen gedichte nicht selten: vgl. A, ii; *C.B.*, ii, iia, iv, v, via, vii, viii, viiia, ix u. a.

Ein spezifischer berührungspunkt ist das aber nicht, und es würde sich kaum lohnen den Sedulius aus der ganzen masse der moralisierenden literatur herauszugreifen, um ihn allein mit den vaganten zu vergleichen. Betont aber muss werden, dass diese eigenschaft des Sedulius ihn nicht von den Goliasdichtern entfernt, und den von uns entworfenen schriftstellerischen charakter keineswegs ändert.

Was die diatribe betrifft, so ist hier bei den goliarden *persönliche* und *soziale* diatribe zu unterscheiden. Obgleich der auf uns erhaltene nachlass des Sedulius nur wenig derartiges material bietet, können wir doch sehen, dass er keiner von beiden sorten des rügeliedes fremd geblieben ist. In seiner unsicheren sozialen lage hat der Goliasdichter stets feinde und konkurrenten zu befürchten, die ihn vor dem herren verleumden. Gegen derartige '*detractores*' ist, z. b., *C.B.* clxxi a gewendet.

Auch Sedulius und seine genossen wurden von solch einer giftigen zunge angegriffen. So schreibt Sedulius an die seinen:

Taliter in nostro torquentur pectora Codro [1]
O si sint rabido uiscera rumpta uiro.
(xxxiv, 9, 10)

Marce, precor, fidei scuto meritisque beatis
Pellito uulniferas hostis, amice, minas.
Quid facies, Beuchell, flos inter bellipotentes?
Contere colla minax aspidis, oro, trucis.
(*ib.*, 19–22)

Gegen diesen oder einen anderen Codrus wehrte sich Sedulius in den gedichten lv, lvi, lvii, von denen die beiden ersten allerdings in allgemeiner form ('*Contra mendosos*' und '*Oratio contra falsidicos testes*') abgefasst sind. Jedoch wird durch den titel des dritten ('*Item de ipso falsidico teste*') der persönliche charakter der diatribe verraten. Sedulius wurde vor seinem bischof und herren angeschwärzt (lvii, 1: '*Quid mendosa tibi retulit uulpecula, pastor?*'); er wendet aber die spitze der degens gegen den feind:

Scandala sint olli, qui nobis scandala mouit,
Scandala qui loquitur, scandala quique facit.
(*ib.*, 23, 24)

Auch der Archipoeta muss einen ähnlichen angriff abwehren:

Ecce meę proditor prauitatis fui,
De qua me redarguunt seruientes tui.
Sed eorum nullus est accusator sui,
Quamuis uelint ludere saeculoque frui.
(A, iii, 20)

Nun ergeht sich Sedulius gegen die lügner und verleumder überhaupt:

Omnis *mendosus* coruos fert esse columbas . . .
(lv, 1)

[1] Lehmann, *Die parodie*, 78, anm.: 'In der satyrischen literatur des XII-XIII. Jhs. kommt Codrus gewaltig oft vor.' Wir konnten leider nur stellen auffinden, wo vom Codrus aus Juvenal *Sat.* iii, 208 (*nil habuit Codrus*) die rede ist. Wir brauchen hier aber den Codrus des Virgil (*Ecl.* vii, 26: *inuidia rumpantur ilia Codro*). Wahrscheinlich, wird er irgendwo zu finden sein.

Veraque testatur *figmina falsa* fore . . .
(*ib.*, 4)

Is, sucum *fellis* dulcida *mella* refert,[1]
Sic mites agnos scabroso denteque *rodens* . . .
(*ib.*, 6, 7)

Hic cernit uerum, condit ibique *dolum*.
Hinc *piceus* riuus per cannam gutturis exit
Eructans mendas fumigerosque globos.
Ore hians patulo blaterat *linguaque* trisulca . . .
(*ib.*, 10–13)

Sed *confundantur* mendosi daemonis arma,
Quis inopes contra sibilat aspis oues.
(lvi, 11, 12)

In der goliardendichtung fehlt es nicht an angriffen gegen '*mendaces*,' '*hypocritae*' u. drgl. von denen wir einiges vorführen. '*Homo* mendax,' nennt der Primas seinen beleidiger:

Primas sibi non prospexit neque *dolos* intellexit.
(Pr., xxiii, 22, 23)

ueritatis inimici . . . 'qui' latrando *falsa fingunt*.
(*C.B.*, xviii, 5)

tegunt *picem* animi / niueo colore.
(*C.B.*, xix, 3)

Die übliche vaganten-antithese '*mel*' und '*fel*' ist auch von Sedulius verwertet worden. Vgl. *C.B.*, lxxxvii (*mel in fel conuertitur*), *ib.*, xix (*fel supponunt melli*):

Sunt detractores inimici deteriores;
retro *radentes* (rodentes?) et coram blando loquentes . . .
Lingua susurronis est peior felle draconis.
(*C.B.*, clxxi a)

Qui nos *rodunt confundantur*,
Et cum iustis non scribantur.
(*C.B.* 175, 7)

C.B., 168, beklagt sich der vagant gegen eine '*lingua mendax et dolosa*,' die ihn vor der geliebten verleumdet.

[1] Vgl. auch im streitgedicht, '*De Phyllide et Flora*' (*C.B.*, 65, 34): '*Mel* pro *felle* deseris et pro *falsa uerum*.'

Jedoch die meisten motive der goliardischen diatriben fehlen bei dem gelehrten iren. Keine spur von der sozialen satire auf die verschiedenen stände (vgl. DuMéril, s. 128) und laster. Dagegen bleibt seine durch das thema gebotene diatribe gegen die schlechten monarchen (*De Rect. Christ.* viii) ohne vagantische parallelen.

Besonders scharf verfährt der rügende Golias gegen den reichen clerus (denn da ist es, wo ihn der schuh drückt) und gegen Rom. Sedulius hingegen scheint den hohen geistlichen nicht feind zu sein. Es wäre unhistorisch zu behaupten, dass die zeit dazu noch nicht gekommen war: besitzen wir doch ein noch älteres '*Alphabetum de malis sacerdotibus.*'

Wir verzweifelten also beinahe, in dieser hinsicht, etwas für unser thema zu gewinnen, als uns plötzlich eine stelle aus Traube's '*O Roma nobilis*' auffiel: [1]

Ich halte es für fast gewiss, dass Sedulius die handschrift geschrieben hat . . . und wenn ich richtig vermutet habe, dass er den Codex Boernerianus schrieb, so ist auch er es, der das kühne wort, freilich in irischer hülle zu schreiben wagte:

> '[1] Wandern nach Rom macht grosse mühe, bringt geringen nutzen. Den (himmlischen) könig, den du zu hause suchst (vermissest), wenn du ihn nicht mit dir trägst, nicht findest du ihn (dort). [2] Gross ist die torheit, gross die verrücktheit, gross der sinnenverlust, gross der wahnsinn: denn es ist sicher (nämlich 'wandern nach Rom') ein in den tod gehen, ein den unwillen des Sohnes der Maria auf sich ziehen.' [2]

[1] Abh. d. kgl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. kl., XIX (1891), 348, 349.

[2] Die übersetzung Traubes ist nach H. Zimmer, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, LIX (1887), 58. Der irische Text nach hs. *msc. Dresd. A.* bl. 145v wird von W. Stokes und J. Strachan im *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* II (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1903), 296 mit übertragung ins Englische nachgedruckt. Hier aber gebe ich den text der ersten strophe nach R. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des altirischen* II (Heidelberg: Winter, 1909), 41; den der zweiten nach hs. British Museum, *Additional 30512*, bl. 32v wie derletzte von Stokes im *Supplement to Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1910), s. 78, auch mit englischer übersetzung, veröffentlicht worden ist.

1 Teicht do Róim:
mór saIdo, becc torbai!
in rí chon'daigi hi foss,
mani'm-bera latt, ni' fogbai.

2 Mór druiss, mór báis, mór baile,
mór coll céille, mór mire,
ol is airchenn dul d'écoib
beith fo étoil Maic Maire.

Roma caput mundi est, sed nil capit mundum (*C.B.*, xix); *Roma quasi rodens manus, per quam mundus roditur* (WCh., 12); *Vere, Roma, nimis est; eris sitibunda, uorax irreplebilis, inferis secunda* (DuMéril, s. 89), u. s. w.

Diese unschätzbaren verse setzen dem ganzen vergleich die krone auf. Also auch dieses eigenste eigentum der vaganten, die *Romsatire* müssen sie mit Sedulius teilen.

(f. *Rubentis oris osculis . . . iocundor plus quam flosculis*)

In einem punkte muss unsere forschung versagen: in der vagantenerotik. Hier stossen wir an die bekannte (und rätselhafte) 'asexualität' der karolingischen dichtung.[1] Als 'asexueller goliarde' muss unser Sedulius bezeichnet werden bis auf neue funde. Natürlich hat er, wie mehrere zeitgenossen, die üblichen *laudes dominarum* (an kaiserin Irmingard und prinzessin Berta) geschrieben. Aber zwischen diesen preisgedichten und den '*dulces ludi Veneris*' gähnt ein noch nicht überbrückter abgrund.[2]

Nur eine kleinigkeit möchten wir hervorheben. Ein einziger strich — aber doch im zusammenhange recht bezeichnend. Sedulius nennt die Calliope seine '*Musica coniunx*' (vii, 75):

> Heu quam tristifico doluerunt corcula uati
> Te non praesente, *sponsa uenusta mea.*
> (Sed., vii, 33, 34)

Schon dieser ausdruck ist für einen karolingischen dichter äusserst frivol. Und wenn es dann noch heisst:

> Syrmate purpureo glaucisque uenusta capillis,
> Oscula da labiis Sedulio roseis.
> (Sed., i, 5)

Von küssen wird während der karolingischen Renaissance nur dann gesprochen, wenn es *oscula pacis* oder offizielle begrüssungs-

[1] Von den sehr verschleierten und darum zweifelhaften '*paidica*' Walahfrids und Godescalks dürfen wir absehen.

[2] Es ist ein mächtiger verdienst H. Brinkmanns, dass er (*Neophilologus* IX, 1924, 50), die merovingischen und karolingischen preisgedichte mit den späteren liebesbriefen in verbindung gesetzt hat, und auch seine obenerwähnte *Geschichte der Liebesdichtung* mit der epistel beginnt. Eine detallierte forschung wird hier noch manches aufklären.

küsse sind. Aber vom 'rosenroten mund seiner schönen frau' spricht keiner der gut situirten klosterherren des VIII. und IX. jahrhunderts, nicht einmal bildlich. Nur so ein bohème-dichter, wie der irische Orpheus, durfte sich derartige schelmische schlüpfrigkeiten erlauben, die von den herren wohl mit solidem herablassendem lächeln empfangen wurden. Ja, der schalk bringt sogar ein gewisses raffinement hinein — alles, natürlich, unter dem schutz der metapher:

> Lilia tunc croceae dant oscula grata sorori,
> Illa sed huic *ludens* spinetis *ora momordit.*
> Lilia uernigenae *ludum risere puellae,*
> Ambroseo bibulum potant et lacte rosetum.
> (Sed., lxxxi, 45–48)

Im vergleich mit den *iubili* der vaganten ist das eine sehr verschleierte, kaum merkbare erotik; aber im kontexte der karolingischen dichtung klingt es beinahe unanständig. So tut auch hier Sedulius einen halben schritt dem Golias entgegen.

§ 3. Goliardenstil bei Sedulius Scottus

a. Parodie und irreverenz

Ausser dem bilderschatz lässt sich noch manches rein stilistische herausheben, was die dichterische sprache des Sedulius mit der goliardendichtung vereint. Hat doch bereits Müllenhoff festgestellt, dass wir bei Sedulius zum ersten mal die form des späteren *liebesgrusses* finden.[1]

Auch hat Lehmann darauf hingewiesen, dass die bei den vaganten so beliebte *parodie* unserem iren nicht fremd war (ss. 31, 229). So hebt er das *Epitaphium Multonis* (Sed. xli) als eine parodie der grabinschrift heraus und bringt (s. 231) wertvolle parallelen aus der späteren dichtung. Einiges möchten wir in bezug auf dasselbe gedicht hinzufügen. Ein kunstgriff der parodie ist es mitunter, dass sie einen heiligen oder klassischen text an einer komischen stelle zitiert.

[1] K. Müllenhoff und W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher poesie und prosa aus dem VIII.—XII. jahrhundert* II (Berlin, 1892), 153. Die ganze frage sowie die dazu gehörige literatur ist kurz und bündig zusammengefasst von G. Ehrissmann, *Geschichte d. deutsch Lit. bis zum ausgang des Mittelalters* I (München: Beck, 1918), 235.

So legt Sedulius die worte der Psalmisten (*Ps.* cxvii, 16) in den mund des '*furunculus de gente Goliae*,' der eben seine haut vor den hunden gerettet hat:

> Dic cum psalmista talia uerba miser:
> 'Dextera me domini tunc exaltauit Olimpi:
> Viuam, non moriar, facta deique canam.
> Me castigauit castigans alma potestas,
> Tradidit haut morti me rapuitque neci.'
> (Sed., xli, 128–132)

Dann beginnt das parodistische epitaph.

Auch der Archipoeta beendet seine angebliche apokalypse mit einem derartigen scherz:

> Interim me dominus iuxta psalmum Dauid
> regit et in pascue claustro collocauit.
> (A, ix, 25)

Dominus regit me et . . . in loco pascuae ibi me collocauit (*Ps.* xx, 1).

Das komische solcher parodie besteht in der *irreverenz*, mit der ehrwürdiges mit komischem vereint wird. Derartiger irreverenz hat sich Sedulius noch einmal im selben gedichte schuldig gemacht, wenn er den folgenden vergleich anstellt:

> Non mendosus erat nec inania uerba loquutus:
> Báá seu béé *mystica uerba* dabat.
> Agnus ut altithronus pro peccatoribus acrem
> Gustauit mortem *filius ipse dei:*
> Carpens mortis iter, canibus laceratus iniquis
> Pro latrone malo sic, pie *multo*, peris.
> (Sed., xli, 115–120)

Wir geben den komischen kontext (vv. 115, 116), in dem der gotteslästerliche vergleich steht, damit man nicht etwa an eine '*significatio*' im stile des *Physiologus* denke. Im epitaph selbst ist auch spassiger umgang mit heiligen dingen zu verzeichnen:

> Forsan, amice, tibi fieret calidumque lauacrum —
> Non alia causa, *iure sed hospitii;*
> *Ipse ministrassem deuoto pectore limphas*
> Cornigero capiti, *calcibus* atque tuis.
> (Sed., xli, 135–138)

Das ist eine anspielung auf die frommen und heiligen prelaten der Christenheit, die dem gast oder wanderer eigenhändig die füsse wuschen. Derselbe geist spricht aus seinen versen, wenn er mitten im trinkliede (xxxii, 33, 34: '*Verba Comediae*') ausruft:

Laudibus eximiis *modius* laudabilis extat,
Talem mensuram nam *deus instituit.*

Sich auf autoritäten bei trinken und schlemmen zu berufen, ist auch ein kunstmittel, dass aus derselben irreverenten geistesverfassung fliesst (vgl. Lehmann, s. 207).

Endlich ist der schluss des trinkliedes eine '*inuocatio dei:*'

Ast s i m p l i fratres potent sextaria d u p l a ,
Unusquisque bibax iambica metra sonet.
(Sed., xxxii, 37, 38)
Sed nos, eximii fratres, *laetemur* in unum,
In dominoque deo *gaudia nostra cluant.*
(*ib.*, 43, 44)

Diese manier, ein bacchisches lied zu beschliessen, finden wir auch beim Golias (vgl. Lehmann, *s.* 187):

Ergo, fratres carissimi, intelligite
et ad ora pocula porrigite . . .
Conuentus iste nobilis
letetur in conuiuiis,
et mera mente gaudeat
et dignas laudes referat
summo patris filio.
(*C.B.*, 195, 2, 4)
Cum nobis sit copia,
Vinum dum clamamus:
'Qui uiuis in gloria,
Te deum laudamus,' [1]
(Wright, s. xlv.)

b. Wortspiel

Unter wortspiel versteht man einen kollektiven begriff, der mehrere redefiguren umfasst. Das eigentliche wortspiel, die *aequiuocatio* ist ein tropus, bei dem ein gleich oder ähnlich lautendes wort für ein

[1] Vgl. auch den lat.-deutschen '*Iubilus bibulorum,*' hgg. v. J. Werner, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 365–367.

anderes eingesetzt wird, so dass das letztere im text nicht vorhanden ist und nur hinzugedacht wird, z. b.: '*Euangelium secundum marcam* (anst. *Marcum*).' Diese den vaganten geläufige form ist uns bei Sedulius nicht aufgefallen.

Die *paronomasia* ist dagegen sehr entwickelt.[1] Hierher gehören *multis : multetur : multo* (Sed., xxxvi, 17 u. ö.); *modus : modius; tonant: tonnae* (lviii, 25). Ueber den vers lvix, 10 (*Excipe nunc*, Maie, maior *honore cluit*) lohnt es sich einige worte zu verlieren. Bei Ovid (*Fast.*, v, 427) heisst es: '*Mensis erat Maius maiorum nomine dictus.*' Bei Isidor (*Etym.*, v. 33, 8): '*Maius dictus a Maia, matre Mercurii, uel a maioribus natu, qui erant principes rei publicae.*' Bei Wandalbert von Prüm (*De mensium xii nominibus*, *P.L.A.C.*, II, 608), 104, 105: '*Maium cognomine Maia insignit uel maiorum de nomine patrum.* Im '*Ydioma mensium singulorum*' (IX. jh., *P.L.A.C.*, II, 644, 17): '*Maius iamque fuit a Maia nomine dictus; post hoc maiorum ipse sacratus erat.*' Wir sehen also bei allen vorgängern *etymologische parechese* (verbindung nach dem sinne der wurzel), bei Sedulius aber *paronomasia* (ähnlicher laut verschiedener wurzeln).[2] Die erste form finden wir im XII. jahrhundert wieder, und zwar bei Walther von Châtillon, dem meister des wortspiels; aber ausser der tradizionellen etymologie '*Maius a maioribus*' sehen wir hier auch '*Maius : maior*':

Dictus a maioribus
non natu sed ordine
Maius, maior omnibus
in anni uolumine
a maiorum nomine
sic denominatur.

(WCh. 24, 2)

Paronomasia ist den bei vaganten sehr beliebt. Vgl. WCh. (s. 37 anm.): *muniunt : munera, Veneris : uenia.* Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s, 60: '*Sic lucrum Lucam superat, Marco marcam praeponderat, et librae librum subicit.*' Die beispiele können um vieles vermehrt werden (auch '*mel: fel*' gehört hierher).

[1] Vgl. M. B. Ogle, 'Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style,' SPECULUM I (1926), 171, § 3.

[2] Derselbe unterschied besteht zwischen dem sedulischen '*modus uel modius*' und dem goliardischen '*modus a modio.*'

Wahrscheinliche *etymologisierung* liegt vor in '*Liber hic liberat*' u. s. w. (Sed., xxxii, 27, 28; vgl. o. § 2c, s. 540), auch wohl in xxxiv, 23, 24 (*Blande . . . blanda columba dei*).

Auch *paregmenon* (vereinigung verschiedener formen einer wurzel)[1] gehört teilweise hierher: *Graecula graecizans* (Sed., vii, 16), *Codro codrior* (*C.B.*, ii, 5), *uide uidens omnia* (*C.B.*, xiii, 3).

Das *polyptoton* erscheint bei Sedulius (lviii) als bewusstes *grammatisches wortspiel*, das auch die scholares des XII. / XIII. jahrhunderts stark kultivieren:[2]

'Bonus uir est Robertus,
Laudes gliscunt Roberti,
Christe, faue Roberto,
Longaeuum fac Robertum,
Amen salue, Roberte,
Christus sit cum Roberto' —
Sex casibus percurrit
Vestri praeclarum nomen.
(lviii, 1–9)

Vergleiche P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie*, s. 76:

Sex statuit *casus* Donatus in arte tenendos
4 expulsis Roma duobus eget
Accusatiuus Romam regit atque datiuus.

Si te forte traxerit / Romam Vocatiuus
et si te deponere / uult Accusatiuus
qui te restituere / possit Ablatiuus
uide, quod ibi fideliter / praesens sit Datiuus.
(*C.B.*, xix, 6)

Eine anzahl von varianten gibt Lehmann (*loc. cit.*). Dazu kommen konjugationsspiele:

Multum dabat oneris *do das dedit dare* . . .
(WCh., 29, 3)

Sit finis *uerbi uerbum* laudabile *do, das.*
(A, x, 42)

Die beste parallele finden wir im *Bauernkatechismus* (Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, s. 22):

[1] Vgl. Ogle, *art. cit.*, s. 171, § 4, b.

[2] P. Lehmann (*Parodistische Texte*, München: Drei Masken, 1923, s. 49) gibt unter dem titel 'Erotischer Grammatikbetrieb' eine komposition, die ganz auf diesem kunstgriff basiert ist.

Nominatiuo: Hic *rusticus* nequam, turpissimus . . .
Genetiuo: Huius *rustici* nequam, turpissimi . . .
Datiuo: Huic *rustico* leccatori nigro . . .
Accusatiuo: Hunc *rusticum* nigrum, turpissimum . . .
Vocatiuo: O, *rustice*, nullius amice nisi sue porce . . .
Ablatiuo: Ab hoc *rustico* nigro turpissimo.

Besonderen gefallen findet Sedulius in zahlenspielereien die bei den vaganten seltener sind. Er deutet, z. b. namen nach den zahlen, die die entsprechenden buchstaben im griechischen ziffernsystem bezeichnen (vii). Er deutet den namen des adressats (Vulfengus, xvi) und seinen eigenen nach der zahl der buchstaben und silben, wobei diese ziffern (wie es in der mittelalterlichen scholastik üblich ist) auf heilige zahlen bezogen werden (11: '*Syllaba Sedulii nomen conclude quaterna, fontis euangelici sacra fluenta notans,*' u. drgl.). Das wäre an sich keine spezifische affinität mit den vaganten, wenn Sedulius es nicht als scherz im trinkliede, als *propos de buveur*, angewandt hätte:

Sex fratres modium sumant: nam grammate *seno*
Nobile conscriptum nomen habet modius.
Ast simpli fratres potent *sextaria* dupla
Unusquisque bibax iambica metra sonet.
Senarium uersum *sex* una uoce canentes,
Mundi totius *senaque* facta sonent.
(Sed., xxxii, 35–40)

Ebenso wird im traktate '*De diligendo Lieo*' (P. Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, s. 58, z. 45, 46) vorgeschrieben, wieviel mal man trinken muss und alle zahlen werden gedeutet, z. b.: '*Sexties propter sex hydrias quas ipse dominus uinauit in Chana Galilee. Sepcies propter septem dona spiritus sancti,*' u. s. w.

Also auch in der stilistik zeigt sich Sedulius als ein vorläufer der Goliasdichter.

Hier müsste eigentlich noch ein kapitel über metrik folgen. Der stoff aber reicht dazu nicht aus. Zwar hat Sedulius, ganz wie die Goliasdichter, *regula metri* und *rhytmi monstra* gepflegt, wobei bei ihm, noch mehr, als bei dem Primas und Walther von Châtillon, das

metrische prävaliert. Zwar hat auch er in der metrischen poesie verschiedene kunststücke angewendet (vgl. z.b. die *recurrentes* — Sed., lxxx, 1, 2). Aber seine *metra* und rhytmen fliessen aus anderen quellen (Boethius und irische 7–silber) und keinerlei direktes band vereint seine spielereien (z.b. das *metrum* in Sed., liv) mit denen der goliarden, die im *metrum* besonders die reimkunst verfeinern, im *rhytmus* sich auf die strophik legen.

4. Goliardische gattungen zur zeit der Karolinger

a. *Verba praecantia*

Jetzt aber wirft sich von selbst die frage auf: was bedeuten diese ähnlichkeiten zwischen Sedulius und den goliarden? sind das wirklich die anfänge der vagantenpoesie? Ist der zeitabschnitt zwischen ihr und Sedulius genügend ausgefüllt, damit wir ununterbrochene evolution annehmen dürften? Wie gross ist eigentlich dieser zeitabschnitt?

Verschiedene gattungen der vagantenpoesie kommen in verschiedener zeit zum vorschein. Die liebeslyrik lässt sich vermittels '*O admirabile Veneris idolon*,' '*Inuitatio amicae*,' '*Clericus et nonna*' und dem *Liede von Ivrea* bestimmt in das X. jahrhundert hinaufrücken.

Für die tiernovelle, in der der tod eines haustieres beklagt wird, führt die tradition direkt von Sedulius' '*De quodam uerbece a cane discerpto*' (xli, mit einem '*epitaphium multonis*' versehen) über '*Alfrad*' zum '*Testamentum domini asini*' und '*Epitaphium bicornis*' (im '*Speculum stultorum*,' vgl. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s. 229–234). Was den lateinischen schwank überhaupt betrifft, so kann man seine entwicklung ununterbrochen bis ins VIII. jahrhundert hinauf verfolgen, da er schon bei Theodulf zu finden ist (*P.L.A.C.*, I, 551: '*De equo perdito*). Als übergang dienen: Notkers '*Gesta Karoli*,' die geschichte vom '*Wunschbock*' und die vielen schwänke des X. und XI. jahrhunderts in *Cant.* (auch teilweise die '*Ecbasis cuiusdam captiui*').

Ebenso auch das streitgedicht. Dieses geht von Alkuin über Sedulius, Theodulus, und '*Conflictus ouis et lini*' zu den streitgedich-

ten der *Carmina Burana* (*'Vinum et aqua'* und *'De Phyllide et Flora'*).[1]

Spärlicher fliessen die quellen für die oben eingehend besprochenen gattungen: das bettellied, trinklied, u. a.

Einiges haben wir doch zusammengestellt, um zu zeigen, dass, obgleich mit Sedulius manches anfängt, nichts jedoch entgültig abbricht. Wenn dann aber doch für eine geraume zeit die belege fehlen, so soll das noch lange nicht bedeuten, dass die tradition unterbrochen worden ist. Nur zu oft sehen wir, wie eine dichtungsform aus dem schrifttum verschwindet, und dann, viel später, wieder auftaucht. Um ein bekanntes beispiel solcher 'unterirdischer' strömungen zu zitieren, nennen wir die deutsche reimdichtung im stil Otfrids, die im IX. jahrhundert blüht und im XI. eine scheinbare wiedergeburt erlebt. Es wird doch keinem einfallen zu sagen, dass sie im X-ten spurlos untergegangen ist, obgleich wir für diese epoche so gut wie gar nichts besitzen: das verstümmelte *Georgslied* ist von einer unsicheren hand des X./XI. jahrhundert geschrieben das, zweisprachige *'de Heinrico'*— nur in den *Cambridger Liedern* überliefert. Wo hat diese poesie bis dahin ihr dasein gefristet? Natürlich, in denselben klöstern, wo sie entstanden ist, aber ausserhalb des schrifttums: das vornehmere latein nahm den ganzen pergamentvorrat in anspruch.

Nun soll es uns nicht wundern, wenn die *nugae* der bischöflichen hofdichter wenig platz in den handschriften fanden. Wurde doch manches leichtsinnige ausradiert, als es schon aufgeschrieben war, wie uns — *proh dolor* — die blätter der Cambridger hs. zeigen.

So müssen wohl die *bettelgedichte*, meistens mündlich vorgetragen werden, wenn es keine briefe waren.

Das älteste beispiel eines derartigen bettelbriefes gibt uns Walahfrid Strabo in seiner epistel an Hraban Maurus (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 358). Dieses gelegenheitsgedicht ist von den bettelliedern des Golias viel weiter entfernt, als die entsprechenden verse des Sedulius. Der erste und wichtigste unterschied besteht darin, dass die epistel nichts scherzhaftes enthält, sondern rein sachlich gehalten ist: 'Ein bote, wie Hraban in einem früheren briefe meldete, sollte den schüler

[1] Vgl. Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lat. lit. des Mittelalters*, München: Beck, 1920.

Walahfrid mit allem nötigen versorgen, ist aber ohne die versprochenen gegenstände angekommen.' Die situation ist nicht goliardisch; auch für die bitte um *schuhe* (8, 9: *quod nudipedalia cogor ecce pati*') fanden wir keine parallelen. Das ganze ist in briefform eingefasst:

Incipit (1): Hrabano patri, per uerba praecantia Strabus.
Explicit (12): . . . ualeas per saecula cuncta, praecamur.

Von wörtlichen zusammenhängen können wir nur die allgemeinsten abstrakta, wie '*paupertas*,' '*egestas*,' '*solacia*' notieren. Vergleichen wir damit die reiche fülle der goliardischen ausdrücke bei Sedulius. Der brief ist jedenfalls circa zwanzig jahre älter (826/829) als die lieder des Sedulius; daher wohl die weitere entfernung von den vaganten, obgleich Walahfrid damals auch ein '*pauper scholaris*' war. Sollen wir etwa auf eine ältere form, die 'bettel-epistel' schliessen, die dem bettelliede vorausgeht, wie die liebes-epistel den *carmina amatoria*? Wie dem auch sei, fangen die eigentlichen berührungen mit den vaganten erst mit Sedulius an. Sie fangen an, aber sie hören nicht auf. Dicht an seine lieder schmiegen sich die *Carmina Scottorum*, vii, 3 (*P.L.A.C.* III, 690) in elegischen distichen, die zwischen 854 und 860 entstanden sind (vgl. oben, § 2c, s. 240). Darunter befindet sich ein bittgedicht (6 verse) an Karlmann, den sohn Karls des Kahlen, damals mönch in Soissons. Ganz wie in Sed., iv, beklagen sich zwei iren über die kälte in ihrem hause. Auch hier vergleichen sie ihr elend mit dem wohlhaben des gönners:

Hic duo sunt fratres, ardens ast angulus unus:
Non satis expellit frigora lusca domus.
Karlomanne, tuis arridet partibus ignis:
Nos uero gelidos urit iniqua hiems.
(*Carm. Scott.* vii, 3)

Frigore siue fame tolletur spiritus a me,
Asperitas brume necat horriferumque gelu me.
(A, i, 16, 17)

Es folgt die bitte um brennholz. Das ganze ist aber doch mehr sedulisch als goliardisch. Schon ganz an der grenze dieser beiden stile steht ein rhythmus, den E. Dümmler (*Neues Archiv* X, 1885, 340) und Strecker (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 665) aus dem *Cod. Palatinus 487*

veröffentlicht haben. Beide herausgeber datieren den codex verschieden: Dümmler — *saec.* X; Strecker — *saec.* IX. Der rhythmus fängt mit einer *parodie* des *Alphabetum de bonis sacerdotibus* (*P.L. A.C.*, I, 79) an:

Pastor: o, qui Christi oues per amoena pascua
(*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 1)

Alph. 1: Ad perennis uitae fontem et amoena pascua
Alph. 2: Bonus pastor ad comissi ouilis custodiam

Auch die reime '*uiscera*,' '*munera*' sind möglicherweise aus dem *Alphabetum* geschöpft. Der wohltäter wird '*pater*' und '*pastor*' genannt (wei bei Sedulius und Archipoeta) und mit lob überschüttet:

Quem diues et pauper amat . . .
(*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 3)

Te pauper sequitur, te praedicat omnis egenus.

omnes extollunt te laudibus undique claris.

Es handelt sich um die '*munera Bachi*' (die hier auch '*clara*' genannt werden):

Spes est nulla iam uiuendi, mens *turbatur* anxia,
Vini quia desunt nobis ad bibendum *pocula*.
(*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 7, 8)

Ast nos tristificis *perturbat* potio sucis,
Cum medus atque Ceres, *cum Bachi munera desint*.
(Sed. xlix, 5, 6)

Das lied endet mit der bitte:

tres aut quattuor et *meri* nobis mitte *fialas*
(*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 12)

Ter centum *fialas* donauerat ipse poetae.
(Sed. xxxvi, 22)

Hier sehen wir also die '*fialae*' der Sedulius, die wir bei den vaganten vermissten; dagegen findet sich aber das '*merum*' (cf. *C.B.* clxxviii u. ö.) bei Sedulius nicht. Das bettellied ist im humoristischen ton,

wie die des Sedulius, des Archipoeta, und des Primas abgefasst. Auch grenzt hier, wie bei Sedulius und dem Archipoeta, das bettellied an das *potatorium*.[1]

b. *Potatoria*

Trinklieder sind vor Sedulius in der karolingischen literatur nicht bekannt. Ein '*conuiuale*' findet sich unter den liedern des Walahfrids im *Cod. S. Galli 869, saec.* IX. exeuntis '*manu* posteriore, *sed fere aequali* (?) *in paginis uacuis suppleta*' (Dümmler, *P.L.A.C.*, II, 263). Das ist Wal. li: '*Inter conuiuas residens dulcesque cateruas.*' Es wird ein klostermahl beschrieben, das aus brot und fischen besteht, wobei an *Iohannes* vi, 9 (*habet quinque panes . . . et duos pisciculos*) gedacht wird:

> Assunt et nobis per suauia dona creantis
> Panes, pisciculi, blandi quoque copia *musti* . . .
> (Wal., li, 6, 7)
> Intera dulcis fertur mihi normula piscis
> Askonis calidi sequitur *uas* denique *musti*
> Optatum et calidum largo de principe missum,
> Abbas quod . . . transmisit laude colendus.
> Quem quam laudarem, si tantum tempus haberem.
> Quod mox ut coepi, subierunt organa signi
> Quod Christi solitum monuit persoluere uotum.
> (*ib.*, 10–16)

Er verspricht aber doch das versäumte einzuhohlen: '*Quem dum tempus erit, gaudens mea Musa conabit,*' u.s.w. Dass dieses in regelrechten leoninern abgefasste werk dem Strabo gehört, scheint uns ganz unwarhrscheinlich, ja unmöglich. Die ganze gruppe, die, nach Dümmler (*P.L.A.C.* II, 263), später in den codex eingetragen ist, also gedichte, l–lx, besteht fast ausschliesslich aus reinen oder un-

[1] Aehnlich ist auch ein epilog des Micon (xvi, 75–77) in der an einen 'magister' gerichteten epistel:

> Munere pro tali nec non pro uersibus istis
> Plenam ceruisae cuppam merear quoque habere.
> Ad finem rogito: ualeatis tempore longo.

Von einem bettelliede darf man aber hier nicht bestimmt sprechen: wahrscheinlich bittet er nicht den lehrer ihm eine volle tasse mit bier zu schicken, sondern er will sich selbst etwas zugute tun.

reinen (assonanz und konsonanz) leoninern, ausser dem kleinen 4-zeiligen gedicht lviii. Wenn wir von dieser winzigen ausnahme absehen und l — lx mit den echten episteln Walahfrids (in denen er genannt wird) vergleichen, so erhalten wir folgende ziffern:

	Walahfrid	Einschub l–lx (200v)
Reine leoniner	von 0% bis 40% (durchschnitt = 13%)	v. 40% bis 100% (durchsch. = 73%)
Sämmtliche leon.	von 16% bis 55% (durchsch. = 40%)	v. 60% bis 100% (durchsch. = 86%)

In keinem von den eigeschobenen gedichten wird Walahfrid genannt, was er doch sonst gerne tut. *Die gedichte gehören in das ende des IX. jahrhunderts, wenn nicht ins X.*[1] Das erste (l) trägt griechischen titel, was irischen ursprung oder einfluss wahrscheinlich macht. Auch liv (*Ad episcopum Ferendarium*) ist ausgebig mit gräzismen gespickt. Dieses, wie auch die vielen leoniner, verbindet unser '*conuiuale*' mit den *ca.* 890 entstandenen '*Carmina potatoria*' aus Brioude (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 350 ff.). Auch hier, wie im '*conuiuale*' (Wal. li), ist der ton viel ernster, ohne parodien, wortspiele und fernere skurrilitäten des Sedulius. Der meiste teil der *potatoria* ist dem entsprechenden feste gewidmet, und nur je ein vers spricht vom trinken.

Die topoi sind: *laetum* mustum (vgl. Wal. li und Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s. 198: '*tunc rorant scyphi desuper et canna pluit* mustum), *potus salubres*, clarus *oenus*, *agathon* Falernum, Baccus, *Amineus liquor*, *uitea dona*, Lieus, Bacheia munera, *Lenei liquores;* pocula; laetitia (vgl. Sed., xxxii, 24), *hilarescere.*

Obgleich alle diese lieder später sind als die des Sedulius, darf man die hypothese äussern, dass sie eine ältere form darstellen, die möglicherweise aus den irischen klostersitten geflossen ist. Die das trinkgelage im refectorium begleitenden verse waren wohl ursprünglich in andächtigem tone vorgetragen, den die *Carmina Briuatensia* nachahmen. Von Sedulius und seinesgleichen (*Scottigenae, qui bene mandere sciunt*) wurden sie im geiste der '*gens Goliae*' umgearbeitet. Dass Sedulius in dieser art nicht allein steht, zeigen die bereits zitierten verse der iren (vii) aus *P.L.A.C.*, III, 690:

[1] In diese gruppe gehört auch '*Ad Amicum*' mit dem ausgebildeten 'mondeingang' (s. o., § 2d, s. 551) welcher auch morphologisch eine spätere entwicklungsstufe vertritt.

I: Hinc, cereuisa, abeas . . . etc. (s.o., § 2c, s. 540)
II: Sume, precor, Bachum ne spernas, munera Bachi:
Quae *tragos* reperit flumina, nosce petens.

Das erste ist eine direkte anlehnung an Sedulius, wenn nicht eine unter den fröhlichen kumpanen übliche formel. Im zweiten sehen wir kasusspiel (*polyptoton*) und rein heidnisches element.

Noch andere bakchische striche werden wir in der satire wiederfinden.

c. *Magister Golias de quodam abbate*

Mit dem 'weintrinken' im rügeliede hat es eine besondere bewandtnis. Schon in der frühkarolingischen dichtung wird gegen den trunk polemisiert. So wirft Alkuin einem seiner schüler vor:[1]

Dormit et ipse meus Corydon, scholasticus olim,
Sopitus Bacho. Vae tibi, Bache pater!
Vae, quia tu quaeris sensus subuertere sacros
Atque meum Corydon ore tacere facis.
Ebrius in tectis Corydon aulensibus errat,
Nec memor Albini, nec memor ipse sui.
(xxxii, 23)

Walahfrid in den '*Versus de laeticia*' (lxxxii) ermahnt zu nüchternen freuden (*Ebrietatis damna uetauit / Christus . . .*).

Auch Micon ergeht sich gegen einen '*Lurgo meribibulus*' der den Bachus anruft, damit er ihm gesellschaft leiste:

. . . Lurgo, ait et: 'Noster sis (*sc.* Bache) quoque nunc sotius.'
(Micon, clxi, 4)
'He! o Bache! dux sis nostro conuentui.'
(*Apocal. Goliae*, 366)
'Quo ualeam *cantare satur* te, Bache, iuuante
Inflatis buccis *carmina* Pieria.'
(Micon, clxi, 7)

Das erinnert an die '*saturata carmina*' des Sedulius und an die oben angeführten goliardischen parallelen. Weiter aber heisst es:

Quo dicto subito somno Bacchoque repressus:
Tum podex *carmen* extulit horridulum.
(*ib.*, 13)

[1] Citiert nach *P.L.A.C.*, I.

Hier wird also der trinker verspottet, und zwar ist dazu ein motiv verwendet, dass auch später in der satire vorkommt.[1] Aber die andere verdrängt hat, sondern, dass beide schon in der karolingischen zeit zusammenlebten und sich gegenüberstanden.

Der vielmals veröffentlichte rhythmus vom *Abt Adam*[2] steht ganz auf dem standpunkte der vaganten. Wir glauben förmlich den '*magister Golias de quodam abbate*' zu hören.

Andecauis abbas esse dicitur . . .
Hunc fatentur uinum uelle bibere
Super omnes Andecauis homines.[3]
Eia, eia, eia laudes, eia laudes dicamus Libero.
(*Adam*, 1)

Abbatum uideo mores et opera . . .
(*Apocal. Goliae*, 341)

Arrident *calici* semper apposito
(*ib.*, 354)

Vinumque geminis extollit manibus
(*ib.*, 363)

Fernere beispiele der satire gegen vieltrinkende prelaten siehe bei Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s. 189–184. Auch die zeche des abtes und priors in '*Quondam fuit factus festus*' (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1908, 412 ff.) gehört hierher. Ebenfalls fällt der Primas über den neuen bischof her:

Ore fait de forz vins tantum diluuium
Que l'on le porte el lit par les braz ebrium.
(*Pr.*, xvi, 30)

[1] Vgl. P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie*, s. 198:

Ex domo strepunt gressu inaequali . . .
In luto strati dicunt: 'Orate.'
Per posteriora dorsi uox auditur: 'Leuate.'

Aehnlich wird die meretrix bei Hrotsvit ausgelacht:

Ergo dedit sonitum turpi modulamine factum.
Profari nostram quale pudet ligulam.
(*Gongolfus*, 575)

[2] Hgg. von Dümmler, *Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum* XXIII, (1879), 265; P. v. Winterfeld, *Arch. f. d. stud. d. neueren Spr. u. lit.* CXIV (1905), 34; K. Strecker, *P.L.A.C.* IV, 591; wir zitieren nach der letzten ausgabe.

[3] Ueber den ausdruck vgl. B. I. Jarcho, *Юный Роланд* (Госуд. Акад. Художеств. Наук, Leningrad, 1926), s. 102 anm.

Das lied von Adam dem abte ist also durch und durch goliardisch mehr als irgend ein anderes karolingisches denkmal. Auch in den einzelnen ausdrücken:

Iste *cupa* non curat de *calicem* (sic)
Vinum bonum bibere *suauiter*,
Sed patellis atque magnis *cacabis*
Et in eis *ultra modum* grandibus
Eia, eia, eia laudes, Eia laudes dicamus *Libero*.
(*Adam*, 4)

Hier finden wir die '*cuppa*' des Micon und die '*cacabi*' des Sedulius neben den '*calices*' und dem '*uinum bonum et suaue*' der vaganten. '*Liber*' und das trinken '*ultra modum*' sind beiden eigen und bilden die nötige brücke zwischen den epochen.

Dieses kapitel ist besonders lehrreich. Es zeigt, dass es im IX. jahrhundert einen Golias und einen anti-Golias gab. Der erste ist durch Sedulius und andere *scottigenae* sowie durch den satiriker aus Anjou vertreten. Diese haben über das weintrinken in grunde *alles* gesagt, was wir beim späteren Golias lesen, nämlich: 'Ehre dem Liber und wehe den heuchlern.' Wir wiederholen und betonen, dass diese epikuräischen poeten in der karolingischen welt einen festen *gesellschaftlichen typus* darstellten, gegen den die ehrbaren klosterdichter mit dem kampfschrei '*uae tibi, Bacche pater!*' auftreten mussten. Gegen diese 'Codri' wehrten sich dann die Goliasdichter wieder mit spottlieder und diatriben ('*qui nos rodunt confundantur*'), wie die gedichte des Sedulius (xxxiv, lv, lvi, lvii — s.o. § 2 e, s. 556) zeigen.

d. *Voces animantium*

Es liegt uns fern die lange und wohlbekannte geschichte der '*Voces animantium*' (s. M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. lit. d. Mittelalters* I, 137) hier rekapitulieren zu wollen. Nur auf eine form derselben machen wir aufmerksam, die in *Cant.* 23 und *Carmina Burana* xxxiii am besten überliefert ist. Das ist eine aufzählung der *singenden vögel*, die mit *natureingang* beginnt. Nun besitzen wir solch ein specimen aus dem anfange des X. jahrhunderts (*ca.* 910), nämlich die '*Species comice*' des Eugenius Vulgarius (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 430). Die *Species* zerfallen in zwei teile (einen anakreontischen und

einen adonischen), die man als zwei verschiedene gedichte ansehen darf. Das erste erzählt von dem siege der nachtigall über sämmtliche vögel des waldes. Nun ist das 'lob der nachtigall' an sich ein motiv, das wir in karolingischer dichtung (Paulus Alvarus), sowie in *Cant.* 10 (und Anhang, s. 111) wiederfinden.[1] Was die vögelliste des Eugenius betrifft, so wird sie gänzlich (ausser dem '*gallus*') durch den tierkatalog der *Carmina Burana* xcvii, gedeckt. Aber auch die beiden vogellieder mit natureingang enthalten manchen dem Eugenius bekannten sänger. Wir geben also die liste des Eugenius:

ardea (—), aquila (*Cant.* 23, *C.B.* 33), cornix, coruus, gallus (—), lusciola (*Cant.*, *C.B.*) — philomela, miluus (*Cant.*), pauo (—), turtur (*Cant.*), ulula (—).

Ganz, wie bei Paulus Alvarus und in *Cant.* Anhang, s. 8, werden die '*sibila*' der nachtigall gelobt. Die ähnlichkeiten sind zahlreich. Aber es leuchtet auch schon jetzt ein, dass wir eine tradizionelle gattung vor uns haben.

Nun können wir ruhig zum natureingang übergehen, der uns in diesem zusammenhange am meisten interessiert. Wir haben seine geschichte bis auf Sedulius verfolgt. Sie bricht aber hier nicht ab. Dieselben *Carmina Scottorum*, vii, die uns schon material für das bettel- und trinklied geliefert haben, bringen auch ein fragment mit natureingang (*P.L.A.C.*, III, 690):[2]

Hoc *nemus* umbriferum crebris de *flatibus austri*
Componit *leni murmure dulce melos.*
Iam canit allector praedicens luminis ortum.
(iv, 1)

Flauit auster lenius . . .
(Bas. Kler., xl, 10)

Clangunt sub tenoribus
Campi cum *nemoribus*,
gaudent in arboribus
murmurum dulcoribus
festinantes aues.
(*ib.*, 20)

[1] Das motiv des '*sieges*' ist in beiden gedichten angedeutet. Paulus Alvarus, '*Carmen philomelaicum*,' I, 11: *Nulla certe tiui equetur nunc cantibus ales.*— *Cant.* 10: *Vincit omnes cantitando uolucrum cateruulas.*

[2] Das lied selbst ist wohl ein hymnus (gleich Sed. lxiii?) auf irgendeinen festtag gewesen.

Die topoi haben wir schon oben gegeben. Aber das kleine fragment liefert manches neue band zwischen dem karolingischen und stauferischen Golias. Vorerst — das '*nemus*,' das so oft in den *Carmina Burana* figuriert. Aber noch wichtiger ist es, dass hier der 'frühlingseingang' durch 'morgeinengang' kompliziert erscheint, und zwar wird der 'gesang des hahnes' dafür verwertet:

Anni parte 'florida' celo puriore,
picto terre gremio uario colore,
dum fugaret sidera *nuntius Aurore* . . .
(*C.B.*, 65)

Die verse müssen in die zweite hälfte des IX. jahrhunderts gesetzt werden und grenzen also an den natureingang des Eugenius, zu dem wir übergehen:

Sunt secla praeclarissima
Sunt *prata uernantissima*
Formosa *gaudent* omnia
Sunt grata nostri moenia.

Laetentur ergo somata,
Et *rideant* precordia,
Amor petens finitima
Sint cuncta uitulantia (gl. 'gaudentia')

Phoebus rotat per tempora
Torquens *polorum* lumina
Somnum *susurrunt* flumina
Aues canunt et dulcia.
(Eug. Vulg. xxxi, str. 2, 3, 4)

Wir also sehen, dass es auch hier nicht an den üblichen topoi fehlt. Neu im vergleich zu den älteren natureingängen sind '*prata*' (vgl. *C.B.*, cxcvii, cxcviii.) und '*susurrunt flumina*' (WCh. 17: *susurri fontium*).

Der grosse schritt vorwärts besteht aber in der einführung des '*amor*,' obgleich in einem nicht ganz klaren kontexte.[1] Der sinn ist jedenfalls nicht weit entfernt von *Carmina Burana* lx ('*Amor tenet omnia, mutat cordis intima*') und *Carmina Burana* lxxxviii ('*Tempus*

[1]Die fehlerhafte partizipverbindung, die im gedichte öfters vorkommt, veranlasste v. Winterfeld (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 430 anm.) an der verfasserschaft des Eugenius zu zweifeln.

instat floridum, cantus crescit auium . . . Eya, qualia amoris gaudia!'). Damit kündet sich das X. jahrhundert an. Von hier aus ist es nur ein katzensprung bis zum natureingang des liebesliedes. Wir sehen, der übergang ist ganz allmählich zustande gekommen:

2½ d. IX jhs.	¾ d. IX jh.	Ende d. IX jhs.	Anf. d. X jhs.	X/XI jh.	XII jh.	XIII jh.
Wal. Strabo	Sedulius (u. Micon)	*Carm. Scott.* Pseudo-Walahfr.	Eugenius Vulgarius	*Carm. Cant.*	*Carm. Burana* W. v. Châtillon	Basler Kleriker
Ekloge	*Ekloge*				*Ekloge*	
Begrüssungslied	Begrüssungslied		*Voces animantium*	*Voces animantium*	*Voces animantium*	
	Freundschaftslied	Freundschaftslied	(Liebeseingang)	Liebeslied	Liebeslied	Liebeslied
	Bettel- u. trinklied				Trinklied	
	(Spottlied)	(? Hymnus)			Hymnus	Hymnus

Hier wenigstens können wir eine fast ununterbrochene filiation feststellen, bei der die *topoi* zuverlässige brücken bilden. Von der dritten generation[1] der karolingischen dichter fängt sie an und dringt tief in die goliardenpoesie ein.

5. Ergebnisse

1. Die richtung der mittelalterlichen poesie, die man als goliarden- oder vagantendichtung bezeichnet, war in allen wesentlichsten punkten (ausser der liebeslyrik) bereits im IX. jahrhundert angedeutet.

2. Die benennung '*gens Goliae*' ist als komisch wirkender spitzname der vagabunden in literarischen kreisen der ersten hälfte des IX. jahrhunderts verbreitet. Ob der goliarde schon damals als

[1] Von Alkuin gerechnet: Alkuin — Hraban — Walahfrid'.

konventioneller typus des epikuräischen 'enfant terrible' verwendet wurde, ist an unserem material nicht zu entscheiden.

3. Aber der soziale typus des Goliasdichters (wie er z.b. im Primas von Orléans und im Archipoeta personifiziert ist), den wir am liebsten als 'geistlichen ministerialen' bezeichnen möchten, was schon im IX. jahrhundert vorhanden, jedenfalls unter den irischen 'sophoi.'

4. In diesen kreisen kultivierte man auch schon die späteren goliardengattungen, namentlich das bettel- und trinklied.

5. Andere vagantische specifica, wie natureingang und spottlied wurden auch in klöstern gepflegt.

6. Die vagantischen elemente kommen frühestens in der dritten generation (von Alkuin gerechnet) der karolingischen dichter zum vorschein. Zu dieser generation gehören die hier in betracht kommenden Walahfrid von Strabo, Micon von Sankt Riquier, und Sedulius Scottus.

7. Sedulius ist der goliardus Karolinus *par excellence*. Er (nebst seinen irischen genossen) hat das bettellied und das trinklied so ausgebildet, dass sie in den wesentlichsten motiven, ja öfters im wortlaut mit den entsprechenden goliardenliedern übereinstimmen. Seinem scherzhaften trinkliede lagen vielleicht die andächtigen '*potatoria*' der irischen klöster zugrunde.

8. Der natureingang, am frühesten durch Walahfrid vertreten, wird bei Sedulius zur bewussten manier und weist *alle typischen grundformen* des vagantischen natureinganges auf.

Die topik dieser eingänge ist schon im IX. jahrhundert stark entwickelt und evolutionniert ununterbrochen bis tief ins XIII. jahrhundert.

9. Erotische dichtung fehlt ganz im IX. jahrhundert; nur Sedulius gestattet sich in dieser hinsicht etwas freiere ausdrücke als die dichtenden kuttenträger. 'Liebe' in verbindung mit natureingang erscheint zum ersten male am anfang des X. jahrhunderts (Eugenius Vulgarius).

10. Das spottlied auf die hohe geistlichkeit ist im IX. jahrhundert so entwickelt, dass man es von den vagantenliedern kaum unterscheiden kann (*Adam*). Ja sogar den anfängen der goliardischen 'Romdiatribe' begegnen wir bei den iren (Sedulius?).

11. Die tiernovelle — speziell der schwank vom erschlagenen haustier, nebst parodistischem *planctus* und *epitaphium* — ist auch durch Sedulius vertreten.

12. Im bereich der stilistik pflegt Sedulius die vagantischen kunstgriffe (parodie und wortspiel) und berührt sich auch im wortlaut nicht selten mit den vertretern der goliardendichtung.

Unter anderem, ist bekanntlich die archaische formel des sogenannten 'liebesgrusses' am frühesten bei Sedulius bezeugt.

13. Die bei den vaganten übliche modifizierung der '*Voces Animantium*' (*uoces auium* + natureingang) tritt uns an der grenze des IX. und X. jahrhunderts (Eugenius Vulgarius) entgegen. Die tradition des '*Carmen philomelaicum*' geht von Paulus Alvarus über Eugenius Vulgarius zu den *Cambridger Liedern*.

14. Im ganzen, bildet die Goliasdichtung im IX. und X. jahrhundert eine starke 'unterirdische strömung,' die nur dann und wann in der schrift auftaucht, um später, im XI. jahrhundert, als mächtiger strom entgültig zum vorschein zu kommen.

Moskau.

NOTES

'REX A RECTE REGENDO'

In seinem Artikel 'The Medieval Conception of Kingship in the Policraticus of John of Salisbury' (Speculum I, 1926, 326), erwähnt Mr John Dickinson:

> John of Salisbury quotes the traditional etymology of '*rex*' which derived it from '*recte*,' and gave a basis for the argument that he alone is entitled to the name of king who rules rightly . . . The definition seems to have come into serious political thought with St Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.* ix, 3, 4.

Diese scheinbar recht belanglose Worterklärung verdient auf ihren Ursprung hin etwas näher untersucht zu werden.

Etymologien waren für das unkomplizierte wissenschaftliche Denken des Mittelalters oft ungemein wichtig. Sie wanderten meistens von Autor zu Autor, von Generation zu Generation, von Land zu Land, von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert und wurden angesehen als eine Art höherer Weisheit, die im sprachbildenden Instinkt, also letzten Endes in der Natur: im G ö t t l i c h e n wurzelt.

So auch hier. Jahrhunderte lang schwebt allen gebildeten Nationen die gewaltige antithetische Formel vor: 'hie König, dort Tyrann, hie Recht, dort Schmach, hie Ordnung, dort Anarchie.' Neben dem im Sagenhaften wurzelnden Gegensatz 'Christus — Antichristus' war die Etymologie: *Rex a recte regendo* die stärkste Trägerin dieses Gemeinplatzes des mittelalterlichen politischen Denkens und Fühlens. Jede Generation, ja jeder einzelne politische Schriftsteller vom VII. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert scheint seine besondere Freude an der 'Entdeckung' zu haben, dass im Wort *rex*, dessen Herkunft verblasst scheint, eine s t r e n g e g ö t t l i c h e W e i s u n g verborgen liegt: nur der verdient den Namen 'König,' der Recht, Billigkeit, Ordnung walten lässt.

Ich glaube, dass das Mittelalter nicht nur diese Etymologie, die wie wir sehen werden eine grosse Zukunft habe sollte, sondern auch den auf sie aufgebauten Gedanken der Antike verdankt, und der Vermittler war auch hier — wie in so vielen ähnlichen Fällen — der Grosse Mann der 'Grenze': der hl. Augustin. Ich glaube auch nicht, dass diese bedeutende Etymologie allein durch Isidor Gemeingut wurde. Wir haben Anzeichen dafür, dass die Phrase zu seiner Zeit schon längst allgemein geläufig war und es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass Isidor folgende Stelle des *De ciuitate dei* (v, 12) vor Augen hatte:

Hinc est quod regalem dominationem non ferentes [Romani] 'annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecerunt, qui consules appellati sunt a consulendo, non *reges* aut domini a regnando adque dominando';[1] cum et reges utique a *regendo dicti melius* uideantur, ut regnum a regibus, reges autem, ut dictum est, a regendo; sed *fastus* regius non *disciplina* putata est regentis uel *beneuolentia* consulentis, sed *superbia* dominantis.

Und nun Isidor (*Etymol.* ix, 3):

Reges a regendo uocati; sicut enim sacerdos a sanctificando, ita et rex a regendo. Non autem regit, qui non c o r r i g i t. Recte igitur faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur. Unde et apud ueteres[2] tale erat prouerbium: 'Rex eris si recte facies, si non facias, non eris.'

Man sieht: die Fassung Isidors ist lediglich eine Verflachung — man könnte sagen: Popularisierung — des Augustinischen Gedankens. Augustin baut auf das Cicero-Zitat, das wohl gemerkt die Etymologie bereits enthält — den folgenschweren Gedanken vom Gegensatz des 'regelnden' und des 'zügellosen' Herrschers auf; in einem halben Satz haben wir hier schon die berühmte Antithese des Mittelalters vor uns: das *regere* wird dem *dominare* gegenübergestellt, einerseits stehen *fastus* und *superbia*, andrerseits *disciplina* und *beneuolentia*.

Isidor erweitert die '*rex a regendo*'-Etymologie Augustins mit dem '*recte*' des Kindersprüchleins und vermengt hiebei die wissenschaftliche und die populäre Etymologie — ja, er holt zum Ueberfluss auch noch *corrigere* herbei.

Horaz hat bekanntlich nur die e r s t e Hälfte des Liedchens (*Ep.* i, 1, 59, 60):

> . . . At pueri ludentes, Rex eris, aiunt,
> Si recte facies.

Nicht nur Isidor, auch der Horaz-Scholiast Porphyrio[3] bezeugt die zweite Hälfte: '. . . *si non facias, non eris.*' Höchstwahrscheinlich hat Ausonius diesen sehr verbreiteten Spruch im Sinn, wenn er im *Technopaegnion* (vi, 3) den Rätsel vers schmiedet:

> Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur erit rex.

Wiederum ist es die Antithese: *regere* (= *recte facere*) und *dominari* (= *non recte facere*), die der gewandte Dichter hier geistvoller zu fassen vermag.

Soviel ist uns also von den antiken Ursprüngen der Etymologie bekannt. In die weiteren Leserkreise des frühen Mittelalters wurde unsre Formel

[1] Cicero, *De rep.* ii, 31.
[2] Sedulius Scottus, *De rect. christ.*, ed. S. Hellmann, cap. ii: '*Sicut quidam sapiens ait.*'
[3] *Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum* (ed. W. Meyer, Leipzig, 1874), S. 269.

durch die ungemein beliebte und Jahrhunderte lang gelesene Schrift des Pseudo-Cyprian, *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi*[1] hinausgetragen:

Nonus abusionis gradus est rex iniquus. Quem cum iniquorum *correctorem* esse oportuit, licet in semetipso *nominis sui* dignitatem non custodit. *Nomen enim regis* intellectualiter hoc retinet, ut subiectis omnibus hoc *rectoris* officium procuret. Sed qualiter alios *corrigere* poterit, qui proprios mores ne iniqui sint, non *corrigit*?

Von Pseudo-Cyprian übernehmen die sogenannten Karolingischen Königsspiegel den Gemeinplatz: vom IX.–X. Jahrhundert angefangen ist '*rex a recte regendo*' ein Petrefakt — der stereotype Eingang aller politischer Schriften über Berechtigung, Wesen und Zweck der Monarchie.[2]

[1] Hgg. S. Hellmann, Leipzig, 1900, S. 51.

[2] Für das IX.–XI. Jh. vgl. Sedulius Scottus, *De rect. christ.* ii, (ed. S. Hellmann, S. 25–27); Jonas von Orleans, *De inst. reg.*, cap. iii (*Patr. Lat.* cvi, 287); Ratherius, *Praeloquia*, iv, 32 (*Patr. Lat.* CXXXVI, 283); Hincmar, *De diuortio Lotharii*, Quaest. vi, Resp. (*Patr. Lat.* CXXV, 757); Gerhardus von Csanád, *Deliberatio*, ed. Batthyány (1790), p. 265.

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ZU PETRUS' VON CLUNI PATRISTISCHEN KENNTNISSEN

UNSTREITIG ist Petrus einer der bedeutendsten Aebte von Cluni gewesen. Seine reiche Briefsammlung zeugt von seinem weitreichenden kirchenpolitischen Walten, seine polemischen Schriften gegen Juden, Sarazenen, und Petribusianer beweisen, dass es ihm hoher Ernst war, Andersgläubige zu bekehren und die christliche Lehre rein von Häresien zu erhalten. Die Koranübersetzung, die er anfertigen liess, besagt, dass er auch den Gegner zu ehren wusste, und seine Gedichte lassen sogar eine gewisse dichterische Veranlagung zu christlicher Lyrik erkennen. Und seine Schriften tun unausgesetzt dar, dass er sich ernsten wissenschaftlichen Studien hingab. Das beweisen nicht zum wenigsten die zahlreichen Anführungen, die er aus der christlichen wie aus der antiken Literatur macht; sie erstrecken sich sogar auf den Talmud wie auf den Koran. Reiche Gelegenheit zu solchen Zitaten bot ihm natürlich die grosse Bücherei seines Klosters, die kurz nach seinem Tode nicht weniger als 570 Bände zählte und deren Katolog durch L. Delisle[1] vortrefflich herausgegeben worden ist. Da nun die zahlreichen Stellen, die Petrus aus den Kirchenvätern anführt noch nicht mit den besten Ausgaben kollationiert sind, so seien sie in Kürze mit den Ausgaben verglichen hier vorgeführt, da auf diesem Wege ein gewisses Licht auf die textliche Beschaffenheit der betreffenden Handschriften von Cluni fällt und die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Patres dadurch ein wenig gefördert

[1] *Le cabinet des manuscrits* (Paris, 1868–1881), II, 458–481, aus Bibliothèque Nat., *MS. 13108*, fol. 236–249.

werden kann. Leider muss ich bei dem Texte des Petrus bei der aus M. Marrier[1] durch Migne (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 61–1054) abgedruckten Ausgabe bleiben, da mir keine Handschrift des Petrus zur Verfügung steht. Es ergibt sich aber deutlich, dass Petrus seine Väterstellen nicht aus dem Gedächtnis zitiert, sondern handschriftliche Grundlagen dazu benutzt.[2]

1. Cyprian. Petrus zitiert *Epist.*, vi, 39 (*Patr. Lat.*, l.c.. 455D), '*De habitu uirginum*'[3] 3 und 22:

189, 12 *primum* est *om.* 13 spiritualis. 15 illustrior. 16 florens. 18 hortamur affectione. 203, 12 filiae. 15 aequales estis. 16 illaesa. 17 et iugiter. 205 de *om.* 3 spiritualiter.

2. Tertullian. Von dem in Mittelalter wenig beliebten, weil schwer verständlichen Tertullian führt Petrus *Aduersus Iudaeos*[4] einen grossen Teil des 8. Kapitels *Adu. Iudaeos*[5] an. Es ist das gleiche Stück, das Hieronymus *In Daniel.* 9 aushebt und viele Lesarten bei Petrus schliessen sich auch der Ueberlieferung bei Hieronymus an. Und doch hat Petrus hier nicht aus Hieronymus genommen, da viele wichtige Lesarten dagegen sprechen, sonder er hat aus einer Handschrift geschöpft, die eine Kontamination der Hieronymusüberlieferung mit einer anderen Kopie des Werkes darstellte:

Adv. Judaeos 8: p. 1134, 21 igitur] inquit. quoniam] quia. intra LXXII hebdomadas. 22 numera. autem *om.* 23 quoniam ipso. 24 enim ei. a prophetatione. 26 uidit uisionem. igitur *om.* p. 1135, 1 XXII. 3 deuicerat. 5 successit. 6 Post hunc Euergetes regnauit. 14 Insuper uixit. 15 natus est. 16 die. in annum Augusti XLI. 17 qui *om.* 17 XX–18 V] anni CCCCXXXVII et menses V. 18 LX. 21 prophetia. 23 tribuuntur. quod — uisum] signari uisionem. p. 1136, 1 ipso. 4 prophetarum omnium. de eo] prophetae. 5 nuntiarunt. Post aduentum enim et passionem eius. 6 propheta. esse uenturum. 7 denique — 18 natum *om.* 18 quod. dimidiae. 20 impletae. Augustum enim. 22 successit. XXII. 23 nonodecimo. 24 patitur Christus. XXXIII. 25 VIII] VII. 26 Nero] Tiberius Claudius annis XIII mensibus VII diebus XX. Nero. 26 XI] octo. 27 VI] XXVIII. 27 Otho mensibus III diebus V. 28 diebus XVIII. debellauit. p. 1137, 1 anni numero. XI] X. 2 in diem suae expugnationis. 3 praedicatas a Daniele.

Die Lesarten, p. 1134, 4 *quando* und *post eum.* 12 *uidemus.* 1136, 2 *adimpleta.* 19 *dimidiae.* 25 *annis III.* 26 *Tiberius Claudius* u.s.w., die direkt gegen Hieronymus stehen, beweisen dass dessen Ueberlieferung allein nicht in Betracht kommt.

[1] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 589–1376*, Paris, 1614.

[2] Die in den Texten bei Migne offenbaren Druckfehler bleiben in den Kollationen unerwähnt.

[3] Hgg. W. Hartel, *Opera*, I, 189, 11–19; 203, 11–17; 204, 15–205, 5.

[4] *Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 564A–565B.

[5] Hgg. Fr. Oehler, edit. minor, Leipzig, 1854, SS. 1134 (*Unde igitur ostendimus*) — 1137 (*praedictas in Daniele*).

3. Ambrosius. In *Epist.* vi, 39, einem Briefe, der fast ganz aus Väterstellen zusammengesetzt ist, bringt Petrus Stücke aus Ambrosius *de Virginibus* i, 8, aus deren letztem hervorgeht, dass er zwar den Bibeltext des Ambrosius nach der *Vulgata* abzukorrigieren bestrebt ist, seine Bibelüberlieferung aber hierzu nicht ausreichte.

De Virg. i, 8, 51–53, 45, 46 (Vobis autem uirigines — nescire uitiorum, *Patr. Lat.* XVI, 202D–203B; Hortus conclusus — et non relinquam, 201A–201B).

51, col. 202D quod pudore intemerato. meretur] imitatur. 52, col. 203A angelos] angelum. religio *om.* deo] domino. fecit] facit. nubunt . . . ducunt. inquit] dei. uos est. 53, col. 203A est autem. uirgines uero. docent . . . docent. 45, col. 201A spiritualium. coeno fluenta turbentur. ut] sic. col. 201B olea] oleo. inolescant. fuerit ager patriarchae sancti. generauit] germinauit. 46, col. 201B ostium circuitus.

Die Stellen aus *Cant. cant.* ii, 3 und iii, 4 lauten bei Ambrosius:

Tamquam malus in lignis nemoris, ita fraternus meus in medio filiorum. In umbra eius concupiui et sedi: et fructus eius dulcis in faucibus meis. . . Inueni quem dilexit anima mea; tenui eum: et non relinquam.[1]

Bei Petrus lauten sie:

Sicut malum inter ligna siluarum, sic dilectus meus inter filios. Sub umbra illius, quam desiderabam, sedi: et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo . . . Inueni quem diligit anima mea; tenui eum: nec dimittam.

In der Schrift gegen die Petribusianer zitiert Petrus Stücke aus *De obitu Theodosii*, *De obitu Valentiniani*, und *De excessu fratris Satyri* (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 837A–838A):

837A *De obitu Theod.* 35 (*Patr. Lat.* XVI, 1397): Dilexi uirum — animam piam. 36 (Conteror corde — esse sed culpae). tu rogandus *om.* Tu domine — in te *om.* 37 (Dilexi et — domini sanctum).

837B *De obitu Valent.* 54 (*Patr. Lat.* XVI, 1375A: Ne quaeso — abrumpi). 54 eum *om.* patiaris abrumpi] abrumpe. 55 (col. 1375B: Dona patri — pietate). Et huic — praesumo. 56 (col. 1375B: Date manibus — delectet). Christus est lilium. commendo. uel merita. 78 (col. 1381B: Beati ambo — frequentabo). Beati estis ambo.

837CD *De excessu frat. Satyr.* i, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* XVI, 1292: Fleuerunt et pauperes — obducat). multo est. i, 80 (col. 1315: Tibi nunc — sacerdotis). animam commendo. ii, 5 (col. 1316C: Nos quoque — renouamus). quod obierint. ii, 13 (col. 1319: Nec tu perdidisti — pretium futurorum). quem adiuuas. sed pro — immortalium *om.* Solue] Da. aut patriae. tuo mortuo relinquis.

4. Hilarius Pictaviensis. In *Epist.* vi, 39 (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 455D) gibt Petrus eine Stelle aus des Hilarius *Epist. ad Abram filiam* 3 (*Patr. Lat.* X, 549C–550A):

549C: Ac uestem primo uidi] anno primo uestem uidi. nigrescunt. Ipsi enim multicolores eius amoena cuncta uicebant et nihil. Post quae.

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[1] So auch bei Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae uersiones antiquae, seu Vetus Italica* (Paris, 1751), II, 377, 379.

5. PAULINUS NOLANUS. Die Briefe des Paulinus von Nola werden von Petrus an einigen Stellen angeführt, nämlich *Epist.* iv, 17, *Epist.* xxix, 12, und *Contra Petribus Epist.* xxxv; xxxvi, 2; xiii, 111, 27, 28.

Epist. iv, 17 (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 334BC). Paulini *Epist.* xxix (ed. Hartel, *Opera*, I, 259, 3–15), S. 259, 4 in eo quidem. 10 pauperiem. 14 et *om.* sapientes et] esurientes.
Contra Petribus. (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 840A); *Epist.* xxxv, 2 (ed. Hartel, *Opera*, I, 312, 9–313, 7): p. 312, 11 ut *om.* 17 oportuerat. huic nostro dolori compatiens. 20 spiritualem. p. 313, 4 et clamantibus — 6 peccati *om.* *Epist.* xxxvi, 2 (ed. Hartel, p. 314, 7–315, 3): 314, 10 parcimoniam. 11 *alterum* uestri *om.* 12 ualemus. praecipua. 13 cura. 14 etsi. 15 in — consequendum *om.* 17 eius *om.* 20 unanimes. 23 miserator et misericors. omnia quae uult. p. 315, 1 refrigerentur. *Epist.* xiii, 11, 27,28 (ed. Hartel, p. 92, 15-20; p. 106, 22– p. 107, 12); p. 92, 15 iam *om.* 16 siccitate. p. 106, 23 coniugem scilicet. 24 a] in. 25 cassis luctibus. p. 107, 2 in uestitu — 3 lumina *om.* 6 enim *om.* 9 anima. 11 non.

Diese Stellen ergeben deutlich, dass die von Petrus benutzte Handschrift dem Codex *M* bei Hartel[1] sehr nahe gestanden hat, da die meisten wichtigen Lesarten des Petrus sich auch in *M* finden (vgl. besonders zu Paul., p. 314, 15).

5. AUGUSTINUS. Den Schriften Augustins verdankt Petrus die meisten seiner Zitate. Er gibt nämlich in *Epist.* vi, 39 (*Patr. Lat.*, l.c., 452C–454D) Augustins *de Sancta Virginitate*, xxvii–xxix, liii, liv, und in *Contra Petribus.* (a.a.O., 838A–D) *De cura pro mortius gerenda*, i, 2; iv, 6; v, 7; xviii, 22, *Enchiridion* 110, und *Confessiones* ix, 12, 32:[2]

De sancta Virginitate, 27–29, *ed. cit.*, p. 263, 12 affertis. 16 uniuersa] omnis. quale *om.* p. 264, 1 deum. 7 graminea. et insaniae. 9 sed gaudia. 10 gaudia propria uirginum. 11 gaudia — 13 talia *om.* 14 in *om.* 16 eum *om.* 18 uobis relinquens. 19 sequamur. p. 265, 3 filiis. hominum quae. 10 ipsi] illi. quam *om.* pp. 265, 11 beati — 266, 9 gradientea *om.* p. 266, 11 nullatenus. 12 et *om.* 13 quae. 14 donum *om.* 16 eum sequimini. 21 habet . . . habebit. 23 uestro *om.* p. 267,1 quae et. et hoc *om.* 4 quibus hoc deerit *om.* quippe ille. 5 deserit. 6 omnipotentem — loquimur *om.* 9 inuidia. concors.
idem, 53, 54, p. 300, 3–8: humilitas *om.* 10 ex — hominum *om.* 13 etiam et matri. 20 moris. 21 impendite. 23 filias. p. 301, 1–2 carnem *om.* 2 qui. 4 suspicionibus] opinionibus. 8 uerum *om.* 9 de *om.* 11 uoto. 12 fixus est. 14 uos amore.[3]

De cura pro mortuis gerenda, ed. cit.: pp. 623, 6 nam — 8 uitam *om.* p. 630, 20 Qui uidelicet affectus cum. p. 631, 2 uerum — 3 permittat *om.* 3 Nec. 6 sub generali commemoratione *om.* 9 exhibeatur. p. 632, 19 Et si. ubi *om.* 20 animus

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[1] Es ist *Cod. monac. lat. 26303, saec. xiii*, französischen Ursprungs.

[2] *Corpus scriptorum eccles. latin.* XLI, 263–267, 300, 1–301, 16, ed. I. Zycha; daselbst XLI, 623, 3–10; 630, 17–631, 9; 632, 19–633, 1; 658, 8–15; *Patr. Lat.*, XL, 283; *Corpus script. eccles. latin.* XXXIII, 221, 23–222, 2; 225, 16–226, 4 (ed. P. Knöll).

[3] Die Lesarten ergeben, dass die von Petrus benutzte Handschrift dem Codex γ bei Zycha sehr nahe stand. Das ist jetzt Paris, Bibl. Natl., *MS. nouv. acq. lat. 1448, saec. ix*, ehedem *fonds de Cluni 30*, also eine alte Cluniazenserhandschrift.

ubi eligit. modo tamen debet. p. 658, 8 Nec aestimemus. 12 comparantur. 15 et] uel.

Enchiridion 110, *ed. cit.*, col. 283: eleemosynae quae in. haec sibi ut postea. ut ei non. Est et talis in bono ut ista. cum ex uita transierit *om.* Nemo se — promereri *om.* prout gessit in corpore.

Confessiones ix, 12, 32 (Cum ecce — fleui) und ix, 13, 37 (inspira — meas), *ed. cit.*, p. 221, 24 tibi *om.* 25 cadauere posito. p. 225, 18 et uoce. 19 haec. monicae. 21 hanc uitam. quemadmodum nescio *om.* 23 et *om.* p. 226, 2 illa a me. 3 tam per.

6. Gregor der Grosse. Von nicht geringem Intresse für die Gregorüberlieferung ist, dass Petrus in *Epist.* i, 28 (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 139 den Brief Gregors *Registr.* v, 49[1] in einer Form wiedergibt, die von der im *Registrum* völlig abweicht, die sich aber durch ihre bestimmten Forderungen, die der Papst hier an Castorius von Rimini stellt, sofort als ein Original kundgibt. Ich erlaube mir daher den Brief im Wortlaut des Petrus hierher zu setzen:

Gregorius in epistola Castorio Ariminensi episcopo: Luminoso abbate referente plurimis in monasteriis multa a praesulibus praeiudicia atque grauamina monachos pertulisse comperimus. Oportet ergo ut tuae fraternitatis prouisio de futura quiete eorum salubri disponat ordinatione, quatenus conuersantes in illis in dei seruitio gratia illius suffragante mente libera perseuerent. Missas quoque publicas in coenobio fieri omnimodo prohibemus, ne in dei seruorum recessibus et eorum receptaculis ulla popularis praebeatur occasio conuentus, quia non expedit animabus earum. Nec audeat ibi episcopus cathedram collocare uel quamlibet potestatem exercere imperandi nec aliquam ordinationem quamuis leuissimam faciendi, nisi ab abbate fuerit rogatus, quatenus monachi semper maneant in abbatum suorum potestate, ut remotis uexationibus ac cunctis grauaminibus diuinum opus cum summa animi deuotione perficiant.

Mit Heranziehung der Gregorausgabe der Mauriner[2] ergibt sich nun folgendes. Das von Ewald und Hartmann edierte Exemplar des Gregorbriefes kennt Petrus nicht, sondern die von ihm gebrauchte Fassung entstammt einer Verbindung der von den Maurinern abgedruckten zweiten Fassung des Briefes (*op. cit.*, II, 603B) mit Teilen des daran angehängten Stückes *De priuilegio monasteriorum* (*id.*, col. 604B). Nämlich der Eingang '*Luminoso abbate referente*' ist wohl Zusammenziehung des Eingangs (col. 603B), '*Luminosus abbas — Namque eodem referente.*' Die Fortsetzung '*plurimis in — comperimus*' und '*Oportet ergo — perseuerant*' ist ebenfalls jener zweiten Fassung der Mauriner wörtlich entnommen. Und die weiteren Sätze '*Missas quoque publicas — deuotione perficiant*' stammen aus *De priuilegio monasteriorum*, '*Missas — fuerit rogatus*' aus col. 604B, 14–23, und '*remotis — perficiant*' *id.*, 34–36. Es fehlen also bei den Maurinern nur die Worte

[1] Hgg. P. Ewald und L. M. Hartmann, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epistolae, Gregori I Papae Registrum Epistolarum* I, 348.

[2] *Sancti Gregorii Papae I., cognomento Magni, opera omnia ... studio et labore monachorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti, e congregatione Sancti Mauri* (Paris, 1705), II, 605.

bei Petrus '*quatenus monachi — suorum potestate.*' Petrus aber hat diese Ueberlieferung[1] jedenfalls in der alten Handschrift von Cluni gefunden, die der Katalog bei Delisle anzeigt.[2]

7. Beda. In seiner Schrift *Contra haereses Saracenorum* gibt Petrus i, 16 (*Patr. Lat.*, l.c., 684–685C) ein grosses Stück aus der *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, i, 25 (hgg. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1896, I, 44–46). Die Lesarten stimmen aber mit keiner von Plummer benutzten Handschrift überein; freilich dürften im Druck des Petrus besonders bei den Eigennamen willkürliche Aenderungen der Ueberlieferung gemacht worden sein. Dass sich jenes Werk zur Zeit des Petrus in Cluni befand, erweist die Angabe im Katalog bei Delisle.[3]

Plummer I, 44 Ethelbert. p. 45, 1 Humbri. maximi *om.* populi Anglorum. 3 imperium. 4 Thanetos. 6 familiarum DC^{rum}] milliarum sexcentorum. 7. Wantsumii. 10 applicuit. 11 fere. 13 et Aediberetum *om.* mandaueruntque regi. 16 futurum *om.* manere illos in illa quam. 18 audierant. 20 Nam—26 haberent *om.* 30 ueteri. 31 maleficae. 32 decipiendo superarent. p. 46, 1 ferentes] portantes. 2 litaniasque. 3 et ad quos *om.* 4 aeterno. 8 affertis. 9 assensum. 14 hospitio uos benigne. 15 uestro sunt. 16 curabimus. 19 Dorobernensi. 21 quaeque.

[1] Ueber Abweichungen von seinem Druck vgl. übrigens P. Ewald, *Neues Archiv* VII (1882), 597. Die Fassung bei Petrus hätte Ewald im Druck berücksichtigen müssen.

[2] *Le cabinet des manuscrits* II, 460, no. 40.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, 467, no. 261.

Max Manitius,
Niederlössnitz bei Dresden.

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT FROM LLANTHONY PRIORY

Only rarely is it possible to determine the original home of a mediaeval manuscript. Accordingly, data which serve to connect a manuscript with a definite locality are of special interest to both the historian and the linguist. This, perhaps, may warrant the printing of the following notes on one of the manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

MS. C.C.C. 59 has been known to students of English chiefly on account of three Middle English poems contained in it, which were printed many years ago by the Early English Text Society.[1] The following riming inscription on fol. 3r preserves for us the name of the donor of the book:

[1] R. Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies*, 2d Ser., E. E. T. S., No. 53, Appendix I, pp. 255–259. Unfortunately in this printing the MS. is wrongly referred to as Corpus Christi Coll. *MS. 54*.

Rex regum riche kink
Lux dux princeps ouer al þing
ffre Cuntis suete þing
Walterum protege Waldink
Qui me communi librum dedit utilitati.

The family of Walding, with which the book is thus connected, was situated from the early thirteenth century in the Forest of Dean within the limits of County Hereford, a short distance west of the city of Gloucester.[1] Sir John MacLean, in his article, 'The History of the Manor and Advowson of Staunton in theForest of Dean,'[2] remarks: 'The family of Staunton, from an early period, would appear to have been called Waldyng and de Staunton indiscriminately . . . Whether this arose from an alliance between a Waldyng and the heiress of Staunton, and thus, while retaining his original name, from his possession of the manor became known as "de Staunton," we are unable to say, but this would appear to have been not an unlikely origin for the double name.' More than one person in the Walding family bore the Christian name Walter. There was a Walter Walding to whom Abbot Henry of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, granted certain land in the town of Tudenham (Gloucestershire).[3] The abbot in question was either Henry Blont (1206–1224) or Henry Foliet (1228–1243). 'Walter, son of William Waldyng' made a grant, apparently in the later years of Henry III, to Richard the Prior and the Canons of Holy Trinity, London, of certain land in Edelmeton.[4] Another Walter Walding is mentioned in the 35th of Edward I (1306/7) as holding one fourth of a Welsh knight's fee in Tudenham.[5] This in all likelihood was the person whose name appears in the Corpus Christi College MS.

The approximate date of the inscription in the manuscript is fixed by the use of the phrase 'free countess.' Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. On his death the earldoms of Gloucester and Hertford were divided among his three sisters. Margaret apparently received the title of Gloucester, for on her marriage in 1328 to Hugh de Audley her husband assumed in her right the title of Earl of Gloucester. Between 1314 and 1328, therefore, Margaret would have been described as the free countess of Gloucester. And on palaeographical grounds the inscription might be assigned to the second decade of the fourteenth

[1] See Margaret C. Bazeley, 'The Forest of Dean in its Relation with the Crown during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society* XXXIII (1910), 169, 177, 191, 199, 231. See also the testimony at the inquisition post mortem, 16th of Edward III (No. 27), Index Library, *Inquisitiones post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, VI (Pt 17, for 1913), 143.

[2] *Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* VII (1882–83), 229, 230.

[3] *Hist. et Cartular. Monast. S. Petri Gloucest.* Rolls Ser. II, 142.

[4] *Descriptive Cat. of Anc. Deeds*, Pub. Record Office, II, 71, No. A. 2374.

[5] *Cal. of Inq. post Mortem*, IV (Edw. I), p. 299.

century, though it was hardly written later than 1320. Accordingly, we are justified in assigning the book to the general neighborhood of Gloucester and in fixing the date of Walding's gift in the early years of the fourteenth century.

This conclusion as to the provenance of the Corpus Christi MS. is fully confirmed when we note the appearance in the volume of verses celebrating the virtues of Humphrey de Bohun, fifth Earl of Hereford. On fol. 69v one finds verses beginning:

Humfridus de Boun quondam comes hic sepelitur,
Sanguine nobilior comes illo non reperitur.

Again, on fol. 67r we read:

Herfordensis apex hic Hunfridus sepelitur,
Sanguine nobilior comes illo non reperitur.
Quid ualet egregius sanguis uel nobile stema
Quondam preclarus hic functus dat modo thema
Quid roburque decus uel quid cumulacio rerum
Ad nichilum tendunt extrema luce dierum
Vir pius In facie gestu pius & pius ore
Omnibus ille pius mundano plenus honore
Si quis per mores celestia regna meretur
Hunfridus per eos omnium ratione sequetur
Ergo pro meritis sumat modo gaudia grata
Et bona facta sua redeant aut sui congeminata.

Humphrey — the 'good Earl of Hereford' as he was called — died 24 Sept. 1275, and was buried in Llanthony Priory in the suburbs of Gloucester, before the high altar in the chapel of St Kyneburg. The phrase 'hic sepelitur' shows that these verses were designed as an epitaph for his tomb, so that they afford a precise local identification and also give us an approximate date for these entries in the Corpus Christi MS.

Further light is thrown on the history of the book by the devotions to St Kyneburg which appear in its pages. On fol. 67r, immediately above the epitaph to the Earl of Hereford already quoted, is a Latin hymn for St Kyneburg's anniversary:

Kineburgam laude plenam ueneramur hodie
collaudemus predicemus in hanc domum gracie
Qua ualescunt reminiscunt defuncti a funere
Eger crede in hac ede si deuotus fueris
Sanus eris & sequeris quod iuste pecieris
Ora sane sero mane peste proprio qua premeris
firma fides inpetrabit morbi conualenciam
Intus foris dum seruabit homo conscienciam
puram hic adnichilabit hostis fraudelenciam
fides uera effugabit omnes fraudes demonum
fractas uires solidabit & uirtutes hominum
languentes quosque firmabit fideique meritum.

On fol. 69v is entered a dedicatory inscription for the Chapel of St Kyneburg, in which Robert of Hereford is mentioned as its founder:

Est tibi uirgo decens Kyneburga dicata capella *uel*
Hec tibi stat uirgo Kyneburga dicata capella
Et tibi Milburga Christi speciosa puella
Hanc Herfordensis Robertus sanctificauit
Presul uirginibus sanctis simul intitulauit.

Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, and Countess Maud had taken special interest in the support of the Chapel of St. Kyneburg, as appears from repeated benefactions which are recorded in the Register of Llanthony Priory.[1] The Countess died in Gascony in 1273 but sixteen years later her body was brought back to England and buried with great solemnity on the festival of St Kyneburg near the body of her husband.[2]

The references to the sick which occur in the hymn to St Kyneburg might at first suggest a connection with some hospital, such as were established in the Middle Ages for the relief of the needy and infirm. It appears, however, that the shrine of St Kyneburg enjoyed a considerable reputation for miracles of healing, and this doubtless explains the exhortations to the sick which are found in the hymn. Elsewhere in the Corpus Christi MS. (fol. 68r) is another hymn for the feast of St Kyneburg (with musical notes), which celebrates these miracles with such specific detail that it deserves to be quoted in full:

Recitemus per hec festa
uoce clara uera gesta
uirginis eximie
Kyneburge res probatur
pro qua deus operatur
miranda magnifice.

Morbos leuit & languores
multiformesque dolores
rex eterne glorie
Vt res facte depinguntur
quedam libris inscribuntur
hominum memorie.

Mulier ferens bufonem[3]
per diuinam sanctionem

[1] Compare the article by Rev. John M. Hall, 'Harescombe; Fragments of Parcochial History,' *Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* X (1885–86), 74, 77. See also 'Notes on the Monuments in Lantony Priory,' *Trans. Brist and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* III (1878–79), 364, 365.

[2] My authority for these statements is an unprinted history of the city and suburbs of Gloucester compiled by Archdeacon Furney, now preserved in the Bodleian Library (*MS. Top. Glouc. C. 5*),

[3] This clinging toad was probably a punishment for feminine vanity as in the similar instance recorded in *MS. Harley 495*, fol. 81r, from which it has been printed by J. T. Welter

capitis in uertice
eius ad confusionem
fedam gerens passionem
tyro cenodoxie.

Ab hac uerme liberatur
amplius non aggrauatur
Kyneburge precibus
Per hanc cecis lumen datur
& conclusus reformatur
restitutis gressibus.

Huius prece tympanites
yposarca & acites
cedit leucoflancia
hanc decedit paralisis
quam curare nequit phisis
ardens elefancia.

fol. 68v

Per hanc febris effugatur
& defunctus uite datur
urens erisipula
et syringa cauernosa
antrax ardens famosa
decedit et fistula.

asma pleuresisque
dura scotesisque[1]
nocitura fugit et astrophia
Impentigo furiosa
capud sedans et squamosa
cutem crustans morphea.

Scotesisque tenebrosa
paroti:daque gladulosa
cedit et squinantia
hanc sanatur et bolismus
uilis uentris catacli[s]mus
spamus epilentia.

(*Speculum Laicorum*, p. 144): 'Mulier quedam nobilis in partibus borealibus nimis curiose componere et nutrire solebat capillos. Cui per noctem accessit buffo terribilis et (adh)esit ejus capitis summitat, excitateque clamores horribiles domicille ejus non potuerunt eum avellere; sed nec medici cura enim contingeretur bufo ad amouendum. Cepit semper illam torquere grauissime. Suasa tandem intellexit hoc sibi in penam sue superbie accedisse et penitere cepit. Super ueniens, peregrinus quidam ignotus caute liberauit eam nec aliquid uoluit recipere cum tamen omnia sua prius optulisset, si posset eam liberare. Istud casu narrauit quidam frater in sermone in loco ubi contigit et homines ejusdem loci in pleno sermone perhibebant ita fuisse.' For another clinging toad see J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances in Brit. Mus.* (London, 1910), III, 545.

[1] ? Scotosisque.

ab ossessis demon cedit
sensus datur salus redit
sanantur ergumini
date laudes audientes
ista mira conplaudantes
nunc diuino numini.

deprecemur[1] amatorem
castitatis ob amorem
fol. 69r Kyneburge uirginis
nostrum leuiat dolorem
et perducat ad decorem
locum ueri luminis. AMEN.

This thirteenth-century catalogue of diseases impresses the reader by its ample store of medical terms. Particularly surprising is the large proportion of Greek derivatives included in the list.[2]

The connection of the manuscript with Llanthony Priory is, then, established beyond question. It remains to inquire in regard to the use which was made of it. Before discussing this point it will be well to list the principal contents of the manuscript:

fol. 5r. *Anticlaudianus* Alani de Insulis.
57v. Sententiae morales.
60r. Versus prouerbiales.
61r. De septem uitiis.
62v. Definitiones grammaticales de figuris.
65v. Hymnus ad Patrem (Latin).
66r. Hit bilimpeð forte speke (Hymn to God, in English).
67r. Versus in honorem S. Kineburgae; epitaphium in Humfredum.
68r. Versus in honorem S. Kineburgae (with musical notes).
72r–113. Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae.*
113v. Edi beo þu heuene quene (with musical notes).
116v. Moder milde flur of alle.
117. Aue gloriosa dulcis et formosa.

From the signs of wear at fol. 72 I am inclined to suspect that the *Boethius* and the leaves which follow originally stood as a separate book, which afterward was bound up with the earlier portion of the volume. But at all events the close relationship of material found on leaves at the front and back shows that the book must have existed in its present form in the thirteenth century.

A notable feature of the MS. is the considerable amount of plummet writing on the first four leaves, on the fifteen leaves between *Anticlaudian* and *Boethius*, and on the seven leaves at the end of the book. Traces of plummet writing, for the most part illegible, appear on nearly all these

[1] *MS.* deprecemur.

[2] In this connection it is interesting to note on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book the names of the Greek numerals — the digits, the tens to 100, and the hundreds to 1000 — spelled out in Latin characters.

leaves, though the original writing has been erased and the pages written over with ink. In a number of cases verses written with plummet are copied again on another page in ink. Thus on fol. 69v these lines are written in ink:

Adam non licite pomum carpsit ionatasque
Mel. sumens auide comedentes iraeliter (sic)
Carnes. set fatue penas sibi promeruere.

The same lines, written with plummet, can be made out at the foot of fol. 67v. More instructive is the case of the hymn to the B.V., 'Orbis honor celi stema.' The text of this hymn was written with plummet on fol. 2v and again on fol. 3r and again on fol. 3v (almost wholly erased). It was written in ink on fol. 4r and also on fol. 116v — in the latter case an attempt has been made to erase the text. Finally on fol. 113r the hymn has been written with musical notes. Comparison of these several copyings shows much variation in the text of the hymn, that with musical notes differing notably from all the others.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the examination of this plummet writing would seem to be that this manuscript was a 'working book,' in which many things were first noted down in rough draft and afterwards copied permanently in ink. It should be observed further that a fair share of the space in these pages is devoted to what may be termed grammaticalia, that is, to material related more or less directly to subjects studied in the mediaeval grammar school.[1] Of this the most unmistakable evidence appears on the last fly-leaf (fol. 120v). Here one finds, besides some nearly illegible scrawls, the following verses which seem to represent school exercises:

Versus Alexandri nequam:

Veruex & pueri (?) puer alter sponsus maritus
Cultello limpha fune dolore periunt.

Versus W. Walding:[2]

ffur cruce furta luit ueruecis sponsaque fune
Ense duo puori (*sic*) tercius amne puer
Item id: ffur perit furca furto ueruecis & uxor
Cultello periunt puori duo tercius amne

[1] Thus at the bottom of fol. 2v in coarse plummet writing: 'abdicat expellit remouetque refutat & additus denegat absentat ac inhibere notat.' On fol. 116r the following verse has been written lengthwise of the page in plummet: 'Nona cibat leuius quem pascit mane coquina.'

[2] It does not seem at all likely that the 'W. Walding' whose name is attached to some of these verses was the Walter Walding who is named on fol. 3r as the donor of the book. The writing on fol. 120v can safely be assigned to the thirteenth century, whereas the inscription on fol. 3r, for the reasons stated at the beginning of this paper, was probably written about 1314. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the Walding name in both places is a matter of some interest in considering the history of the manuscript.

Item id: ffur cum prole parens furce periere bidentes.

. . . . . .

Panis uerus amor Lapis est duricia cordis
Piscis uera fides fedei serpens inimicus
Omne (?) spem dicas quam scorpio cusspide pungit

. . . . . .

Caladrius uitam spondet si respicit egrum
Quamquam mortem si negat huic faciem.[1]

I have not been able to identify the lines on the *ueruex* in the published works of Neckham, but he tells the story of the '*caulandrius*' (though in other words) on page 378 of the Rolls Series edition of the *De Naturis Rerum*. It is unnecessary to consider in detail the examples of mediaeval prosody afforded by these lines of verse. Their importance for our purpose consists chiefly in confirming the suspicion created by the other contents of the manuscript, that this book was at one time the property of a schoolmaster.

Further support is given to this conclusion by historical records showing that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries a grammar-school under the control of Llanthony Priory was actually in existence.[2] This school was quite distinct from the school connected with St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, of which Giraldus Cambrensis gives an account in his *Speculum Ecclesie*.[3] Mention of the grammar-school belonging to Llanthony Priory occurs in King John's confirmation (1199) of the grant by Henry II to the Priory of Llanthony with 'a chapel within the castle of Gloucester and one school within the same town.'[4] That the Llanthony school was still being maintained in the fifteenth century appears from an action for trespass brought in 1409/10 by two masters of the school against another schoolmaster who had infringed upon their rights. The complainants recite that the collation to the grammar-school of Gloucester had belonged from time immemorial to the 'Prior of Lentone near Gloucester.'[5]

Returning, then, to the Corpus Christi College MS., we may sum up our conclusions in a word. On the one hand, the book discloses a special connec-

[1] Mr J. A. Herbert notes the occurrence of a similar account of this remarkable bird (*Cat. of Romances in Brit. Mus.* III, London, 1910, 162) and gives a reference to Bartholomeus Anglicus.

[2] Archdeacon Furney, in his account of Llanthony Priory already cited, states: 'And there was a Grammar School for the young Canons and other persons resorting to it' (*MS. Top. Glouc. C. 5*, p. 628). Fosbrooke gives further details: 'In old Smith St. there was an ancient school given by Henry II to the Priory of Lanthony, the master of which received 40d. (*sic!*) per quarter for each child' (T. D. Fosbrooke, *Hist. of Gloucester*, London, 1819, p. 300). In regard to 'Old Smith-Street,' Gloucester, see *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.* II (1877–78), 235.

[3] *Opera*, Rolls Ser. IV, 107.

[4] *Rotuli Chartarum*, Pub. Record. Com., 1837, p. 7.

[5] H. A. Merewether and A. J. Stephens, *History of Boroughs and Municipal Corporations* (London, 1835), II, 807.

tion with the Chapel of St Kyneburg attached to Llanthony Priory; on the other hand, the texts and exercises in Latin verse which it contains strongly suggest that it was a schoolmaster's book. Both characteristics would at once be explained by supposing that the master of the Llanthony grammar-school served also as chaplain in St Kyneburg's Chapel. Such a combination of the schoolmaster's and the chaplain's office was not at all uncommon in the Middle Ages, when pious foundations often were employed to maintain, or at least assist, the work of education. Rarely, however, has good fortune preserved for us one of the books actually used in his work by a thirteenth-century *magister scolarum*.

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A NOTE ON THE GOLIARDS

SPECULUM hopes that it has demonstrated its friendliness towards the Goliards, ever since Professor Hanford's article on 'The Progenitor of Golias' appeared in its first number.

In a review of Karl Breul, *The Cambridge Songs*, published in *The Nation* CIII (1910), 305 f., I ventured to state that 'it would not be surprising if Goliardic poetry came into being in the ninth century, in the very period, the Carolingian Renaissance, which Professor Breul and others regard as dominated by lifeless convention and subservience to classical models.' Such a statement can be made with a tremendously increased confidence after Dr Jarcho's article in the present number of SPECULUM. In the same review I pointed out some of the weaknesses of Breul's method of editing the text. It is a pleasure to call attention anew (even after Professor Allen's review in the April number of our magazine) to Strecker's recent edition of the *Songs*, in which the weaknesses conspicuous in Breul's edition do not appear. On the contrary, Strecker's work is a model of the way in which one should publish a mediaeval text. In comparison, the work of his predecessor seems like that of an enthusiastic but unscholared amateur. His analysis of the contents of the *Songs*, moreover, advances by many degrees our understanding of this collection. He demonstrates what I had suggested, that they contain a nucleus of French as well as of German matter. His discussion warns us against too liberal a use of the blessed word Goliardic, and yet it adds further evidence, in keeping with the results of Dr Jarcho's article, for a continuous stream of lightsome and cheering verse from the ninth century down into the twelfth. Finally, we greet the appearance of Strecker's edition of the *Apocalypsis Goliae*, reviewed on pp. 418–420 of our July number.

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REVIEWS

E. J. HOLMYARD and D. C. MANDEVILLE, edd., *Avicennae de Congelatione et Conglutinatione Lapidum, being sections of the Kitâb al-Shifâ'*. The Latin and Arabic texts edited with an English translation of the latter and with critical notes. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927. Pp. ix + 86.

THE contribution of the Arabs to mediaeval science is a large field in which relatively little work has been done, and every addition to it is most welcome. The present volume contains (pp. 71–86) a short Arabic text of part of an encyclopaedic work of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), the famous Arabic philosopher and physician. It is accompanied by a carefully annotated English translation and includes a mediaeval Latin translation by Alfred of Sereshel as well as a preface, introduction, select bibliography, and indices.

In some editions and a Paris MS. of the Latin the book is entitled *Liber de mineralibus Aristotelis*, and F. de Mely has published it as *Lapidaire d'Aristote*, considering it a genuine work but for a number of later interpolations. The editors have discovered the Arabic original of the Latin in certain parts of Avicenna's unpublished philosophic encyclopaedia, *Kitâb al-Shifâ'*, proving that the ascription to the Arabic scientist occurring in some of the editions is correct. Whether this argument finally disposes of the possibility that some Aristotelean treatise underlies this text is perhaps not quite as certain as the editors assume. After all, Avicenna has modelled this encyclopaedia after the works of Aristotle, accepting even their titles. This has been pointed out by Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), p. 280, where the fullest account of the work is given.

Ingeborg Hammer-Jensen in *Hermes* L (1915), 132–135, has put together a number of passages from Aristotle's genuine works as parallels to statements in our text, but this part of her article has been passed over in the quotation, p. 2. On the other hand, Mely's strongest proof for a Greek original, the occurrence of a Greek word in the Latin, is disposed of by the discovery of the Arabic original, as the editors point out, p. 4, note 2.

Among the authors ascribing the text to Avicenna, Qazwini is to be added; see J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1912), p. 81, note 2.

It is interesting that Avicenna, as he refuted the belief in astrology, so in this treatise (pp. 40 f.) also denied the truth of alchemy. His discussion of the formation of minerals and mountains which in the present publication for the first time is made accessible to a larger circle of readers is dis-

tinctly interesting and gives evidence of the keenness of mind of the great Arabic scholar.

The introduction is not quite satisfactory. The lengthy quotations from predecessors are disturbing. Some of the points belonging to the introduction are relegated to the preface, and it is somewhat confusing to read there in one quotation that 'Aurelius' was the translator, while, p. 3, in another quotation the colophon of a Nuremberg MS. which correctly reads the name 'Aluredus' (Alfred) is reprinted without any remark or cross-reference. This colophon is taken from a secondary source, and V. Rose's article in *Hermes* I (1866), 385, where it was first published is not even mentioned. It is curious, by the way, that Steinschneider failed to take note of this passage in all his later publications, though he had received a reprint of the article from his friend Rose and had underlined the name of the translator. He continues to speak of the otherwise unknown Aurelius on various occasions from 1861 (*Zur Pseudepigraphischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, p. 82, where a short account of our treatise is found) to 1904 (*Die Europaeischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, p. 7).

The edition of the Arabic text is based on three MSS, the variants of which are added. The Latin text follows a fifteenth-century MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, with which another codex in the same library and two editions of the early sixteenth century are collated. We are informed that some later editions seem to be derived from a different family of MSS, but the variants of this group are not given. Purposely no attempt is made to establish Alfred's Latin text, since the discovery of the Arabic proved that he occasionally misunderstood his original and perhaps also had a defective text before him. In Mely's edition the text begins with page 49, line 5, from the bottom of the present edition; after page 51, line 2, follow pages 45–49, while the end (pp. 51–55) is missing there altogether. His text, which is constructed, it seems, arbitrarily on the basis of the Paris MS. and three editions, only one of which has been consulted for the present text, differs considerably from the latter. In one respect the editors follow their main MS. too consistently; they fail to indicate the division into three chapters to which they repeatedly refer.

While the introduction thus does not exhaust the treatment of all the problems and cannot compare with the masterly discussion in the above-mentioned book of Ruska which deals with a cognate subject, edition, translation, and commentary are very carefully done. The little volume is an important contribution which helps to clarify an intricate problem and adds to our information in a much neglected field of mediaeval lore.

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F. M. POWICKE, *Stephen Langton*, being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1927. Oxford: The University Press, 1928. Pp. 227.

THIS is a fresh book on an old theme, fresh in much of its material, fresh also in many of its points of view. Everyone has heard of Stephen Langton's part in the struggle for the Great Charter, some have known that he was responsible for the current division of the Bible into chapters, but Professor Powicke is the first to treat Langton's life as a whole in which the man of thought helps to explain the man of action. Langton's writings are passed in review, including the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* for which there are other claimants, but most attention is given to the discussion of theological and moral problems in his unpublished *Questiones*. At the same time the archbishop's career is seen in its European setting, his teaching put against the intellectual background of the nascent University of Paris, the struggle between England and Rome viewed in relation to the general policy of Innocent III. In his treatment of the Great Charter Professor Powicke harks back to an earlier school, with less emphasis upon ideas of feudal contract and more upon the contemporary doctrines of monarchy. To him the Charter was decidedly not 'a piece of selfish and reactionary class legislation.' Here, as in all the author's historical work, there is an evident effort to avoid conventional interpretations and to see each age as it saw itself.

We are glad to note the promise of further studies by Professor Powicke's students in this field, to which the *Bibliothèque Thomiste* also announces important contributions. The proof-reader should remember that in French *catalogue* is not a feminine noun, as it is made six times in the appendices (pages 169, 178–180). We miss a list of the archbishop's official acts.

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Harvard University.

GRAY COWAN BOYCE, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris during the Middle Ages*. Bruges: The Saint Catherine Press, 1927. Pp. 232.

THIS volume, on a subject suggested by Professor Paetow, is a distinctly creditable type of doctoral dissertation, dealing intelligently and adequately with a definite and significant topic for which the sources are easily available and not too voluminous. Begun at the University of California and finished in Europe, it had the advantage of access to the archives of the University of Paris, but it is based fundamentally upon the published *Chartularium* and particularly upon the two supplementary volumes of *Auctarium* which contain the surviving records of the English-German Nation from 1333 to 1452. While, however, the body of this admirably edited collection has been widely used, little attention has hitherto been

paid to the *Auctarium*, save as a prime source for the taverns visited by the nation in the course of its habit of 'drinking up the surplus,' so that Dr. Boyce had a reasonably clear field for his study of the fullest body of record which any Paris nation has left us. He sheds no new light on the origin of the institution but describes carefully its organization and functions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in itself and as a part of the university. The author's English style could be improved, and the typographical errors are too numerous, even when allowance is made for printers accustomed to a different language.

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Harvard University.

CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) interpreted from representative works*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. Pp. xx + 321.

AN excellent and much needed work—in nothing more admirable than in its lucid arrangement, bibliography chapter by chapter, analytical table of contents, 'synoptic' and general indexes. Slight improvements would be to distinguish the more important references in the index and to add numbers to the chapter headings. To deal with the theory and practice of a millennium in Rhetoric and Poetic in 300 pages is a feat made possible only by stern avoidance of tempting by-paths and unnecessary verbiage. Some may think this conciseness and the habit of subdivision (e.g., we find chapter I, B, 2a [1]) make the book hard to read consecutively, but most of the chapters taken singly are most readable—even fascinating. Perhaps more serious is the danger of losing the sense of continuity (the synoptic index is very useful here) — for instance, the *progymnasmata* of Hermogenes (it was a singularly happy idea to spend 16 pages even of so short a book on a translation of these) lead not only to Aphthonius and the Byzantines, who would not have influenced the West, but the Priscian (himself a Byzantine) and the other Latin grammarians, who often offer literal translations of Hermogenes: compare Priscian in Faral (*op. cit.*, p. 82) with Hermogenes (in Baldwin, p. 32).

Similarly the development of the Hymn (particularly of rhyme) seems somewhat confused (the un-metrical sequence is not mentioned). The crucial passage on page 110 about saturnians and marching-songs (trochaics) is singularly vague, not to say misleading. It is misleading again to begin chapter IV, C, by printing *O Lux beata Trinitas* with its flagrant rhymes and complete union of verse-ictus and word-stress as Ambrose's. Who now accepts it as his?

Apart from this there is little to find fault with in this very accurate and lucid book. Chapters VII and VIII are particularly good, above all the

illuminating section on the difference between the lyrical symbolism of the hymns and the rhetorical ornaments of the *poetriae*. It is a pity that more space was not available for these chapters on the very culmination of mediaeval art.

The author does well to note the influence of Sidonius on the *poetriae*, but why not mention Maximian also? Ingenious, too, are the illustrations of sophistic devices from De Quincey. It is good to see the importance of Book IV of Augustine's *Doctrina Christiana* recognized by a twenty-page discussion and analysis. Should not *Waltharius*, *Ruodlieb* (and *Ecbasis Captivi?*) have a word in chapter V?

The bibliographies are rather short, perhaps an advantage, but one would expect explicit references to W. Meyer's works and Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa* (which covers the whole ground on the prose side); personally, I would add for chapter I Walden's *Universities of Ancient Greece*, and for chapter IV Manitius' *Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Poesie*. The translations are good and useful, but in some cases need revision.

Altogether this is a book which touches every side of mediaeval literature, and *nihil quod tetigit non illustravit*.

W. B. Sedgwick.

Robert Belle Burke, transl., *The Opus Maius of Roger Bacon, a Translation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. 2 vols. Pp. xiii + 840.

At last the means is provided for the English reader to acquaint himself in translation with the full text of the *Opus Maius* of Roger Bacon, that celebrated landmark in the history of science and of the thirteenth century. Heretofore the reader unacquainted with Latin has had to depend upon the analysis of the content of the work prefixed to Bridges' edition of the Latin text. Now he may get a much fuller and more accurate impression from a perusal of what are practically Bacon's own words. Anyone familiar with mediaeval writings is aware that the task of rendering them into English is a difficult and rather thankless one. It is not easy to reproduce the effect made upon the mind by the original Latin text and at the same time turn out anything like presentable English. There are interesting passages which are a delight to translate, while, on the other hand, there are tiresome stretches which one is inclined to spare the reader: but this would not be giving a faithful reflection of the original. On the whole Professor Burke is to be congratulated on having faithfully, patiently, and accurately performed an arduous task, without either taking too great liberties with the Latin original, or allowing it to overmaster his own rendition. It is now possible for the reader to stroll at large through the broad expanses of Bacon's thought, to note his limitations as well as his merits, and to gain

a first-hand impression of the general principles and many minute details of mediaeval science.

Unfortunately, however, it is not much more than a bare translation of the *Opus Maius* which the work before us for review provides. The brief introduction covers only three pages and there are none of the explanatory notes in regard to proper names, citations from unfamiliar works of long ago, technical terminology, and interpretations of the details of the learning of the past with which Bridges' edition was enriched. Roger Bacon often needs interpretation for the modern reader, who also should be made acquainted with the scientific and learned background against which Roger wrote. For example, at page 312 it should be explained that 'Carthage' means New Carthage in Spain; at page 386 that 'Caracarum' means Karakorum, and that the men called 'Thebeth' are the Tibetans. Bacon's incorrect citations should be explained instead of merely transcribed. For example on page 403 we read 'Albumazar in his book on Flowers': to the uninitiated this would indicate that Albumazar was a botanist, whereas his *Flores* is a volume of astrological selections. 'The hundred words of Ptolemy' (p. 404), it should be indicated, are the same as the *Centilogium* or *Centiloquium* cited elsewhere; 'the fourfold divisions of Ptolemy' are his *Quadripartitum* or *Tetrabiblos*. It is hard to see why Mr Burke translates '*in quinto uerbo Centilogii*' (Bridges, i, 391) as 'in the fifth book of the *Centilogium*' (p. 406), especially since on the same page occurs '*in expositione quintae propositionis Centilogii*,' which he more correctly translates, 'in expounding the fifth proposition of the *Centilogium*.' But he is evidently unaware that the *Centiloquium* is a collection of one hundred brief sentences or *dicta*. At page 285 some explanation is required of the awkward translation in connection with the title of the pseudo-Ovid, *De Vetula*, especially since three pages later it is given untranslated as '*Ovidius de Vetula*,' apparently simply because Bridges (I, 267), had for some reason italicized it.

The fact seems to be that while the translator, as a professor of Latin, is well equipped to deal with ordinary matters of translation, he does not have the detailed knowledge either of recent research concerning Roger Bacon or of mediaeval learning in general, to enable him adequately to interpret the *Opus Maius* for the English reader. This is shown by his regarding (p. xiii) Bridges' Introduction and Charles's *Life of Roger Bacon*, works produced back in 1897 and 1861, as 'the most important contributions in modern times on Bacon and his work.' But no mention is made of such important work as that of Robert Steele. Ignorance of things mediaeval sometimes vitiates the translation itself, as one or two examples will show. Thus at 410, '*theologi et decretistae*' is rendered 'theologians and judges' instead of 'theologians and canon lawyers.' On page 391 '*rei publicae*' is translated as 'the state,' whereas the reference is really to the

Christian world under the rule of the Pope. Had Mr Burke ever read the chapter on Roger Bacon in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, he would perhaps not have translated '. . . *mathematici isti daemones aduocant in adiutorium coelestium dispositionum per coniurationes et sacrificia*' (Bridges, I, 241) as 'summoned to their aid demons of celestial natures,' instead of, 'invoked demons to supplement the influence of the constellations,' as I rendered it (*op. cit.*, II, 669). It is regrettable that the translator did not consult with specialists in the mediaeval field and acquaint himself with the latest literature on Roger Bacon before undertaking or publishing his work.

Another defect of the book before us from the reader's standpoint is the difficulty of finding any particular thing in it. In the first place, it is difficult to find the corresponding passage in Bridges' Latin text, to the pagination of which reference should have been made. In the second place, the marginal headings at the top of the pages are less diversified than in Bridges' edition, and are of little value as an indication of the contents. For instance, for some 300 pages we have the single heading 'Mathematics,' whereas during those pages there is really an important discussion of geography, as well as of other subjects which might well be separately indicated. Third, the index is very inadequate. There is no reference in it to such important topics in Bacon's thought as the Multiplication of Species, Generation, Putrefaction, or Incantations. The citations of works by various authors are only partially indexed. For example, under Aristotle, there is no reference to his Celestial Impressions (page 405), Secrets (page 408, etc.), while under his *De Generatione* page 307 is omitted; under *De Plantis*, page 308; under *De Somno et Vigilia*, page 414; under the Ethics, pages 584 and 585; under the Metaphysics, page 583; under the Meteorology, pages 584 and 585; and so on *ad infinitum*. There is no reference to the Children's Crusade and the Shepherd mentioned on page 416; Ptolemy's *Centilogium*, *Arrangement of the Sphere*, and *Quadripartitum* are not indexed at all, although repeatedly cited. Neither Thebeth nor Tibet is included.

Such limitations lessen the usefulness of the work, but it will, nevertheless, be of considerable value, especially in the hands of teachers who can supply the interpretation and correction which is lacking in the volumes themselves. On pages 314 and 316, the word 'plain' is used where 'plane' is certainly required. At page 626 a mistranslation of the word *aeris* gives us a peculiar sort of alchemy. 'They then made a mixture of silver and air with gold' should rather read 'They then made a mixture of silver and copper with gold.'

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WILHELM LEVISON, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende. Sonderausgabe aus Heft 132 der Bonner Jahrbücher.* Cologne: Ahn, 1928. Pp. 164. RM. 5.

EQUALLY admirable in design and execution, Professor Levison's monograph on the development of the Ursula legend is one of the best studies of the sort that have ever been written. It presents the evidence in the case with completeness, yet in so well-ordered a fashion that the reader stands in no danger of losing himself in complexities of detail. The author's mastery of his material is accompanied, moreover, by sound critical judgment — a quality very essential in dealing with the mazes of mediaeval legend. The excellence of the book is no less worthy of praise because it could have been predicated from Professor Levison's previous work. The Ursula legend is not likely to need scholarly overhauling, except in detail, for some time to come.

The story begins with the inscription now set into the wall of St Ursula's at Cologne, which records that a man named Clematius, admonished by visions, came from the East and restored a church that marked the place where certain virgins had suffered martyrdom. The date of this inscription has been the subject of much controversy. Professor Levison shows beyond the shadow of a doubt, I think, that it is a genuine record of the Roman occupation of the Rhine: a monument that must be placed between 350 and 450. It is thus, as he says, the kernel of the Ursula legend, although we have no means of knowing who Clematius was, or who were the virgin martyrs whom he honored. We do not even know certainly that the cult survived the Barbarian invasions, for we have no further evidence about it till the ninth century, when references become frequent. These records show that it was then in a flourishing state, but whether as the result of a continuous tradition or of a revival we cannot be sure. A fluctuating list of names appears, and a tendency to state the number of the martyrs as either eleven or eleven thousand. Not till the later tenth century did Ursula attain the position as leader which she was thenceforward to hold; and by that time everyone apparently believed that she had with her eleven thousand followers instead of eleven. Professor Levison's suggestion that the larger figure was due to a misunderstanding of the numeral XI, written with a stroke above it, is at least plausible.

Equally interesting is his treatment of the *Sermo in natali*, which he dates conservatively in the first half of the tenth century. The legend was clearly not yet formed when this discourse was preached at Cologne, nor was Ursula established as leader. The homilist regarded Pinnosa as chief among the virgins, and reported the belief that she was the daughter of a British king. Just how this connection with England came to be imagined may never be satisfactorily determined. Professor Levison's suggestions

on this point are highly ingenious, though too complicated for analysis here. At all events, the legend, with the English Ursula in the chief rôle, had been developed by the time the first *Passio* was written, which took place between 969 and 976. It is interesting to note that St Dunstan of Canterbury is named as authority for certain of the statements in this very important document, and interesting to inquire, as Professor Levison does most profitably, about the relations between England and the Rhine Valley at this time. His speculations, as well as his array of facts, are not to be disregarded. For example, it appears to be more than a coincidence that October 21 was not only the calendar date of the 11,000 Virgins, but also the day when Dunstan was made a bishop. Possibly, as Levison conjectures, the mysterious Saxon *B*, about whom Stubbs wrote so interestingly, brought to Cologne stories that Dunstan found credible. I myself suggested, long since, that[1] '*B*' may have been the man who brought the Old-Saxon *Genesis* to England, whether or not he translated it. Evidence accumulates that traffic between the island and the lower reaches of the Rhine was active in the tenth century. It is a fascinating possibility, furthermore, that the author of the *Passio* may be identified as a monk of St Bertin named Herricus.

A second *Passio*, however, ousted the first from popular favor. This was written, at latest, before 1100, and became the common source of later versions of the legend. Geoffrey of Monmouth used it to advantage in his *Historia*, fusing the story of Ursula with other matters borrowed from Gildas and Nennius, and characteristically creating a Dionotus as her father from the worlds *deo notus*. It goes without saying that Geoffrey's version had a considerable influence on the later course of the legend. He was not responsible, however, for certain very interesting phenomena of the twelfth century, which indeed began before he became an author. During the struggle between Henry IV and his son, military operations at Cologne brought to light a large number of graves from the Roman period. Popular fancy saw in the bones thus unearthed the remains of Ursula and her followers, who now had to include men and children. The effect of these discoveries was enormous, for the relics were much desired. More and more names were added to the list of the martyrs, and more and more of their bones were distributed over western Europe. In the latter part of the century Elizabeth of Schönau furnished revelations that served as a welcome commentary on the inscriptions which purported to come from the tombs. Before her death there was made a *noua editio* of the *Passio*, which includes the revelations and adds other material. Professor Levison raises the interesting question whether the unknown author was not, under his pretences of reverence, really poking fun at the cult he served. Certainly some of his

[1] Cf. *Modern Language Notes* XXVI (1911), 129–133.

remarks give color to the suspicion that in piling up details he was gratifying a secret taste for parody. He was indeed a bold spirit, this man at the end of the twelfth century, as the following quotation will indicate: '*ita enim evangelistae uidentur impares inter se, discordantes in pluribus locis.*'

Professor Levison adds to our indebtedness by appending to his monograph a careful edition of the first *Passio Ursulae.*

GORDON HALL GEROULD,
Princeton University.

L. J. PAETOW, ed., *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia), a Professor in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse in the Thirteenth Century,* with an Introduction on the Life and Works of the Author, together with Facsimiles of Four Folios of the Bruges Manuscript, Memoirs of the University of California, Vol. IV, No. 2, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927.

PROFESSOR PAETOW, who has already written elsewhere of 'The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland,' [1] here presents in admirably complete form the first edition of the same author's interesting work on 'The Morality of Students.'

The text is edited from five manuscripts with their glosses (Part ii, pp. 183–258), and is elucidated by a complete paraphrase in English. The introductory monograph on 'The Life and Works of John of Garland' (Part i, pp. 75–181) is a clear and convincing essay — such as one might expect from this distinguished scholar. Professor Paetow's arguments for the authorship and date of the *Morale Scolarium* (pp. 152–153) are cogent and conclusive. He presents (p. 167, n. 367) an interesting and plausible theory with reference to the English poet Walter, and makes numerous contributions to our knowledge of John of Garland and his writings (*e.g.*, p. 119, ll. 9–11; p. 155, n. 33; p. 161, n. 215; p. 164, n. 275; p. 167, n. 371, last paragraph). In his footnotes he often points out new material found in the *Morale Scolarium* and its glosses (see p. 165, note on ll. 311–318; p. 167, note on l. 365; p. 169, note on l. 425). The glosses themselves are ingeniously presented in a second set of footnotes, clearly distinguished from the variant readings, and the editor has reduced to a minimum the annoyance of cross-references by his parallel numbering of lines of the Latin text, the paraphrase, and the notes.

Other features of the book worthy of special note are the unusually complete table of contents (pp. 71–74), the beautiful facsimiles of four folios of *Bruges Manuscript 546* (Part iii, pp. 259–262), and the excellent index (pp. 263–273).

[1] In *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students,* New York: Crofts, 1927, pp. 207–222.

In his zeal to attract attention to a most promising field of research, the editor has incorporated in his introductory essay occasional references to several other works of John of Garland as yet unpublished and doubtless deserving of study and of publication (so, *e.g.*, on p. 118, n. 70; p. 120, first paragraph; p. 122; p. 125; p. 134; p. 137; pp. 140–141; p. 142; p. 151). The reviewer feels, however, that such suggestions — valuable as they are to students — belong rather in the footnotes than in the body of the text itself.

John of Garland, who became a member of the original faculty of the University of Toulouse almost seven hundred years ago, presents in this book a precious store of source material for the history of intellectual life in that interesting period and place. His aim in writing was two-fold: to reform the morals of his students, and to reform their Latin. Hence we find him adjuring his readers to prize the work because of the difficult and unusual words and constructions which it contains! It is perhaps to be regretted, therefore, that Paetow (despite his appreciative estimate of John of Garland's *Dictionarius* on pp. 128–131) has not appended to this otherwise complete presentation of the *Morale Scolarium* a list of these rare words and phrases. Of his author's significance as an educator Paetow writes (p. 102): 'John of Garland was trying to stem the tide of new learning which was overwhelming the study of Latin language and literature.'

As regards his moral aim, John of Garland states (Prologus, l. 1): *Scribo nouam satiram*, and there are many reminiscences of the *Sermones* of Horace — both in style and in content.

Professor Paetow is to be congratulated on having prepared so admirable an edition of this important and interesting book. Readers will feel that the committee on the award of the Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies for 1927 has made a wise decision in selecting this work as worthy of the first award.

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW,
Colorado College.

L. J. PAETOW, ed., *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro*, New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1928. Pp. x + 419.

IT is a pleasant and appropriate custom to honor a beloved master by the presentation of a volume of essays. But such collections almost always suffer from the heterogenious character of their contents and are something of a vexation to both bibliographers and students, and the present volume is no exception to the rule. It is true that it derives a certain unity from the fact that a majority of the contributors have followed Professor Munro in the study of some aspect of his chosen field, the Crusades. But who

would ordinarily look between the covers of this volume for an account of Lord Haldane's mission to Berlin in 1912 or a study of anti-bellum society in Rockbridge County, Virginia? Under the circumstances the best plan seems to be to give a list of the essays which fall within the province of the mediaevalist, together with some brief notes upon them.

1. 'The Great Pilgrimage of 1064–1065,' by Einar Joranson. A detailed account, after a critical examination of the sources, of the greatest pilgrimage of the eleventh century before the Crusades. It shows that the members of this expedition were unarmed, and challenges the current view that, due to the persecutions of the Seljuk Turks, eleventh-century pilgrimages to Jerusalem were gradually transformed from the pacific small enterprises of an earlier epoch into great armed expeditions which anticipate the Crusades.

2. 'The Pope's plan for the First Crusade,' by Frederic Duncalf. A fresh study of Urban II's plan, and an attempt to show that the plan was much longer respected and much more nearly carried out by the lay leaders than has been commonly supposed. To the reviewer it seems that the argument is pressed rather further than the evidence warrants.

3. 'A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade,' by August C. Krey. Shows that the statement of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, that the Emperor Alexius, by a special treaty in 1097, promised Antioch and the surrounding country to Bohemond is inconsistent with other portions of the work as well as with other sources, and attempts to explain it as a spurious interpolation added in 1105 or 1106 as propaganda in the interest of Bohemond's recruiting campaign in France for a fresh expedition against the Emperor. The argument is impressive.

4. 'Robert of Flanders in the First Crusade,' by M. M. Knappen. A detailed account of the part played by Robert in the Crusade. Acquits him of the low aims and ambitions of most of the other leaders, and represents him as nearly the ideal crusader of popular imagination, whose disinterested work did something to preserve the true religious spirit of the movement.

5. 'Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa,' by André Alden Beaumont, Jr. An attempt to throw new light upon the problem of the value of the chronicle of Albert of Aix. All the passages of Albert's work which bear upon the county of Edessa are carefully examined and compared with all other known sources, and the probabilities are weighed as to their value. One "new source" is used, viz., an anonymous chronicle said to be based

on the lost work of Basil of Choumna, bishop of Edessa, 1143–69. The author's conclusions are very favorable to Albert of Aix.

6. 'Genoese Colonies in Syria,' by Eugene H. Byrne. A masterly essay covering the whole history (primarily administrative) of the Syrian colonies of Genoa during the period of the Crusades. Based very largely upon unprinted materials in the archives of Genoa.

7. 'A Twelfth-Century Preacher — Fulk of Neuilly,' by Milton R. Gutsch. A detailed study of the causes, methods, and influence of this popular preacher and reformer whose last years were spent in promoting the Fourth Crusade.

8. 'The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland,' by Louis J. Paetow. A study of the mental attitude of an intelligent observer of contemporary events from the Third Crusade to the first crusade of St Louis. Based mainly upon the *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* of John of Garland.

9. 'An Exchequer Reform under Edward I,' by James F. Willard. A study of the growing centralization of the exchequer of receipt at the expense of the wardrobe, which began with the appointment of William de Marchia as treasurer in the year 1290. Based primarily upon unpublished materials in the Public Record Office. A notable contribution to the history of English financial administration.

The volume contains a complete list of Professor Munro's writings, compiled by Marion Peabody West, and is equipped with a full index, prepared by Herbert A. Kellar.

Some slips have been noted in proof-reading. On page 96, line 4 from bottom, *west* should read *east;* on page 124, line 12 from bottom, *Baldwig* should read *Baldwin;* on page 188, line 5 from bottom, *Robert* should read *Roger;* on page 208, line 15, *John Garland* should read *John of Garland.*

C. W. David,
Bryn Mawr College.

William P. Shepard, ed., *The Oxford Provençal Chansonnier: Diplomatic Edition of the Manuscript of the Bodleian Library Douce 269 with Introduction and Appendices.* Princeton, New Jersey: University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires, 1927. Pp. xx + 251.

In a catalogue of 1437 is an entry: *Libro uno chiamado re Ricardo in franzese, cum aleve grande coverte de chore roso, in membrana.* M. Antoine Thomas has conjectured [1] that this codex, owned by the Este family in the fifteenth century, is identical with the manuscript which once belonged to the savant

[1] *Romania* XVIII (1889), 297.

Peiresc, subsequently to the Président Mazaugues, then to the Rev. Thomas Crofts, and finally to Francis Douce, who bequeathed it to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This manuscript, *Douce 269*, which Provençal scholars designate by the letter *S*, contains 159 poems by forty-nine known Occitanian authors and 5 poems by anonymous authors. Among the poems which *S* considers anonymous are No. 159, attributed to Elias Cairel, No. 160, attributed to Albert de Sisteron, No. 141, attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn, No. 132, attributed to the Monk of Montaudon, No. 158, attributed to Pons de Capdoill. In some instances, as for 91 (?), 127, 90, 138, 150, 12 (?), 48, 50, 156 (?), 126, 122, 114, 13, 130, 149, 131 the ascription of *S* is erroneous.

It seems impossible to determine the date of *Douce 269*, but the evidence of paleography, and the fact that Aimeric de Peguilhan († 1260) is the latest troubadour whose songs are represented, seems to indicate that the collection was made some time in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The principal scribe, 'who executed the manuscript about the year 1300,' as well as he who later supplied a few deficiencies, seems to have been an Italian, as was also a still later glossator. The script shows traits which are distinctly Italian, but the manuscript also has some 'forms and spellings which belong to the north of France.' This evidence leads Mr Shepard to believe 'that the manuscript was executed in North Italy (probably Venetia) by a scribe who was familiar with French or Franco-Italian texts and who sometimes introduced such forms into the Provençal songs that he copied.' Mr Shepard is properly cautious; but the existence of a literary activity in North Italy in the thirteenth century which contributed to romance such documents as are contained in MSS *San Marco xiii, fr. xxi, fr. v*, and others (of later date) in the Franco-Venetian dialect lends color to the hypothesis that such an anthology as *Douce 269* may well have been put together under the influence of a similar activity in the lyric.

The manuscript offers various marginalia, some of no great importance; others, however, are worthy of attention. Among such scribal notations are the signs *N* and *No*, meaning *Nota*, which indicate, as Mr Shepard has observed, 'the sayings which he [the scribe] regarded as significant or wise.' The editor has very commendably indicated in his footnotes the lines or passages thus marked. Such examples as

> Qar eu ai senpre audi dir
> Qe mensonza no pot cobrir
> Qe no mora qalqe saison [1]

and

> Qar toz bons faiz uei laudar al fenir [2]

[1] Folquet de Marseille, No. 23, vv. 50–52.
[2] Bernart de Ventadorn, No. 27, v. 8.

and

Granz enoiz es et granz naosa
De totz temps merce cridar [1]

and

Qar plus es greu malenanza sofrir
Acelui qa manz bens usaz iauzir [2]

and

Qe qi despen tot son gauz en un esser
Puois de cent iors non pot tant recobrar [3]

illustrate the temper of the copyist; and what interested him doubtless also appealed to his contemporaries. One is mildly surprised that he did not mark for observation the poetical lines

Aissi com cel qes nafraz per morir
Sab qe morz es et per o sis conbat

of Arnaut de Maroill (No. 71, vv. 8–9) whose verses appealed to the genius of Petrarca.

The *Chansonnier* is composed of six *tensos*, three *sirventes*, two *planhs*, five *descorts*, one *devinalh*, one *sestina*, one *chanson pieuse* and one hundred and forty-five *cansos*. The predominance of love poetry may serve as a commentary on the literary taste of thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy. It is possible that *S* represents the kind of anthology known to Jacopo da Lentini, Chiaro Davanzati, Guido Guinizelli, Francesco da Barberino, Ferrari da Ferrara, Dante and Petrarca, to mention only the most famous of early Italian enthusiasts for Occitanian verse. We note that all of Dante's troubadours are represented except Peire d'Alvernhe, Bertran de Born and the author of the (prose) *Las Penas dels Yferns*. Among the troubadours known to Petrarca we miss primarily Bertran de Born, Bertran Carbonel, Guilhem Figueira, Guilhem de Saint-Gregori, Peire d'Alvernhe, Peire Cardenal and Raimbaut d'Aurenga.[4] It is interesting to find Italian troubadours represented by Rambertino Buvalelli as well as by Sordello di Goito. As Riquier was the last of the Occitanian troubadours, so Sordello was the last of the Italian. The elements of the Provençal lyric which were sympathetic to and valuable for native Italian poetry were too quickly absorbed and transformed — into the *dolce stil nuovo* and elsewhere — to allow for protracted imitation of the former by the latter. But those writers who excelled in 'versi d'amore e prose di romanze' were not forgotten even in the newer enthusiasms of the Humanistic period. Benedetto Gareth, Catalan by birth, and his nephew, Bartolomeo Casassagia, together with Mario Equicola kept the interest alive in the fifteenth century. In the next

[1] Bernart de Ventadorn, No. 35, vv. 25–26.
[2] Gaucelm Faidit, No. 62, vv. 9–10.
[3] Uc Brunet, No. 109, vv. 31–32.
[4] Unless No. 131 be by him.

century the attention to Provençal poetry and language became a part of the general linguistic discussions which exercised the later Italian Humanists and critics. We recall among others the names of Pietro Bembo and his contemporary Angelo Colocci; Benedetto Varchi, Alessandro Velutello, Lodovico Castelvetro, and finally Domenico Venier. We have already seen that the Estensi, who did so much for culture in general, were likewise admirers of Provençal literature.

Mr Shepard's text of *Douce 269* is edited with great care and commendable restraint. It may occur to some, however, that the value of the *Chansonnier* as a tool for both students and scholars would have been enhanced had he chosen to give us, not a diplomatic text, but a text in which the abbreviations had been expanded and the lines punctuated. Not only does the book add to our corpus of printed Provençal texts, including versions of some poems formerly not easily accessible, but, as we have tried to intimate, it has an indubitable importance for the history of culture in North Italy.

JOHN R. REINHARD,
University of Michigan.

EDOUARD DE MOREAU, *Saint Amand, Apôtre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France*. Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1927. Pp. x + 367.

ST AMAND was an important pioneer in the spread of Christianity through northern Gaul, particularly in the Scheldt valley. Father De Moreau has accorded him a definitive study which may rank as a model of its kind.

The most notable and interesting section of the volume is the critical introduction. Krusch had made a low estimate of the main source, the anonymous *Vita Amandi*, declaring it a Carolingian production of small authority. Instead it seems probable that it was composed not much later than A.D. 725, or about half a century after the saint's death, and that Krusch's opinion of the author's reliability is to be revised. The biography is scant and the chronology is uncertain, but much of the data can be reconciled with other sources; borrowings appear to have been unimportant. Above all, the essential spirit of the *Vita* is an artless simplicity, which admits the hero's faults, avoids banalities fairly well, and has the ring of good faith. Father De Moreau's clear and comprehensive study of the sources offers the uninitiated a more pleasant introduction to the fascinating problems of hagiographical texts than is afforded by the Latin prefaces of the *Monumenta*.

Some 250 pages treat the life and cult of St Amand. Every scrap of evidence is tested and every attempt is made to relate the narrative to the general history of the seventh century. The general reader will find much

of interest in the background thus provided, and should be grateful for the last chapter ('Le souvenir de saint Amand'), which follows that often-neglected part of a saint's story — his terrestrial career after death.

Miracles are always a problem for the historian of mediaeval churchmen. If one accepts miracles in general, it is still possible to discriminate when dealing with a St Bernard and a large body of evidence. Such a method is almost never possible with Merovingian figures, and Father De Moreau's system seems perfectly sound. He records the miracles as they occur in the sources, without comment.

On the whole, the volume forms a very useful compendium of the data relating to the career of an important man. The scanty materials will not permit an interesting biography. Little can be added to the few facts of the main source. Here and there interpretation raises fruitful probabilities, such as the close relations of St Amand with Irish monasticism, but one comes very quickly to the edge of sure ground. Did St Amand know St Colomban? Did he use the Irish rule? These and too many other questions, when raised, can result only in a rather barren discussion of possibilities, and the possibilities accumulate too heavily to sustain interest. The character of St Amand remains shadowy and indistinct; what stands out in the end is his activity and achievement.

C. H. Taylor,
Harvard University.

William Witherle Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 349. $3.50.

In his preface Professor Lawrence tells us that his volume 'makes its appeal to those who wish to gain a sound knowledge of *Beowulf* so far as it may be done without an understanding of Anglo-Saxon, and to those who are just beginning a reading of the poem in that language' (p. x). In other words, the book is a work of popularization. So it is. But the author has more than achieved his modest aim. His book can be read with interest and profit by every Beowulfian scholar. Not that such a reader will find anything new and startling in the volume. But, as the author well says, 'those engaged in research may gain something from a statement of ultimate results, if only by way of comparison with their own conclusions' (p. xiii). And certainly all readers, specialists or laymen, will get a good clear-cut view of the wood, with the trees duly subordinated. As a sample of the author's quality, let me quote the following (p. viii): 'it [i. e., *Beowulf*] is a thoroughly English poem, written in the English language, in a verse and style characteristically English, and infused with the spirit and ideals of English folk.' In view of the persistent attempts to exclude *Beowulf*, and indeed all pre-Conquest writings, from English literature (witness Saintsbury, Legouis, and others),

Beowulfians will welcome this uncompromising dictum of Mr Lawrence's, even though he usually, by virtue of his terminology, rather plays into the hands of the enemy. And the book is full of judgments as sound and as clear-cut as the one I have quoted.

The author justly remarks that in the Beowulfian field 'many important questions are still unsettled, and the steering of a safe course between rival theories is always hazardous' (p. xi). He adds, 'my general aim has been conservative: to utilize the results of the best and latest research without admitting doubtful or hypothetical conclusions' (p. xi). In many cases he has accomplished this aim, I think. In other cases I am not so sure. I will list a few examples of radicalism, or at least non-conservatism. I cannot subscribe to the dictum (p. 9) that the Christianity of *Beowulf* 'is all on the surface; the real vitality of the epic lies in its paganism.' A dictum to the precise contrary could with greater plausibility be defended, in my opinion. But in fact there is vitality enough on both sides. *Beowulf* 2444–2462a is a so-called Homeric simile, the relation of which to Randver (pp. 36, 88) is highly doubtful and hypothetical, to say the least. The theory that the Danes conquered and absorbed the Heruli (p. 37) is little more than speculation. The Continental or 'Old' Saxons belonged to a stock, and spoke a language, different from the 'Anglo-Saxons' or Saxons of England (p. 42). The name of the wife of Offa is better spelt *Thrytho*, in accordance with the text which has come down to us (p. 43). The etymology given for *Viking* (p. 59) is dubious. I doubt the connection postulated between the sources of *Beowulf* and the gods Odin, Thor, and Frey (p. 62). Certainly evidence on the point is wanting, and the word 'probably' is unjustified. It seems unwarranted to say, without qualification, that *Heorot* was so named 'after the lordly beast symbolical of royalty' (p. 72); to me this explanation seems unlikely. The evil counsellor does appear in Scandinavian analogues of the story of Hrothulf, though he does not go by the name *Unferth* (p. 77); see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* XLII, 300 ff. Heoroweard's army was chiefly made up of Gauts (p. 79), if we may judge from Saxo's version of the *Bjarkamál*. The House of the Scyldings probably came to an end with Harold, son of Hrethric, not with Heoroweard (p. 79). See Axel Olrik, in *Nordiska Ortnamn*, pp. 297 ff. The identification (p. 83) of Heremod with Lotherus is highly conjectural and hardly belongs in a book which aspires to be conservative. Ongentheow was succeeded by Ohthere, not by Onela, if we may be guided by the *Ynglinga* (p. 91). There is no evidence to warrant the statement (p. 97) that Ohthere was Onela's younger brother. Such evidence as we have (as *Beowulf* 2928, and Onela's wars with his nephews) points in the opposite direction. It is hazardous to assert that the Wægmundings were a Geatish clan at all (p. 97). Beowulf was related to the Wægmundings, it is true (*Beowulf* 2814), but only on the distaff side, if one may judge by the

alliterative situation; the name of Beowulf's father alliterates with that of a kinsman of Wiglaf's (*Beowulf* 2604), and this gives us an indication of the connection between the two families. Weohstan himself seems to have been a Swede: his son is definitely described as a Scylfing (*Beowulf* 2603) and he himself was a retainer of the Swedish king Onela. He fled from Sweden when things got too hot for him there, and took refuge with his kinsman Beowulf, who granted him an estate and thus made him what we should nowadays call a naturalized citizen of the country.

The statement that Beowulf 'never really sat on the throne of the Geatas' (p. 101) may be correct, but evidence of its truth is wanting, and such a contention can hardly be looked upon as an instance of conservatism. Fabulous kings usually appear at the head of the genealogy, not in a setting otherwise demonstrably historical. The name *Beowulf* is suspicious, it is true, since it does not alliterate with *Ecgtheow*, and it may well be a nickname. Again, Beowulf's career is obviously full of fable. But these fabulous elements do not justify us in rejecting the testimony of our monument and denying to the hero his kingdom. At least one of Beowulf's deeds is elsewhere attested. According to the English poem, he helped Eadgils to overthrow Onela. Now Snorri represents this help as having come to Eadgils from Bjarki and his fellow-champions, and Bjarki is the Scandinavian counterpart of Beowulf. Mr Lawrence himself notes (pp. 201 f.) the testimony of the *Bjarkarímur* to the same effect; earlier (p. 102) he unduly emphasizes the connection of Hrothulf with the affair; in fact, Hrothulf is nowhere represented as active in this matter; he stays at home, and sends Bjarki and the other champions to the help of Eadgils. In his discussion on p. 102, Mr Lawrence makes needless difficulties. We know that Weohstan killed Eanmund, the brother of Eadgils. When Eadgils came to the Swedish throne, Weohstan of course had to leave Sweden. He took refuge with his kinsman Beowulf. Obviously Eadgils could not maintain his friendship with a king who gave shelter to his brother's slayer, and the Geats had every right to expect trouble from the Swedes when the son of Weohstan ascended the Geatish throne.

It is hazardous to assume (p. 109) that not a great deal of the *Finnsburg Fragment* is missing; we do not know how much is missing. I do not believe that the *Beowulf* poet confused *Eotan* with *eotenas* (p. 111); any confusion is better attributed to copyists. The Danish king Heremod was not sent into exile amongst the Eotens (p. 111), but was betrayed to them; they seem to have put him to death, as one would expect. There is no evidence that Hengest participated (p. 112) in the vengeance which the Danes took on the Frisians. Sigeferth (p. 118) was not a prince, so far as we know; OE. *léod* means 'man.' The *Fragment* does not say that no one of the defenders fell (p. 119), but that no one had fallen at the end of five days of fighting. *Hunlafing* does not mean 'the son of Hunlaf' (p. 120), but is a sword-name (see *Mod. Lang.*

Notes XLIII, 300 ff.). Mr Lawrence's otherwise valuable discussion of the Finnsburg story is largely vitiated by his unsound interpretation of this crucial word. I should like to believe that the car of Nerthus was a sea-going vehicle (p. 148), but the hypothesis is too daring for me! Mr Lawrence is mistaken, I think, in accepting Panzer's theory that the Grendel adventure goes back to the bear's son *märchen* (pp. 171 ff.); he ignores von Sydow's weighty arguments in the important monograph *Beowulf och Bjarki* (which I do not find in Mr Lawrence's bibliography either). But of course the matter is distinctly debatable. I do not believe that OE. *fyrgenstream* is properly translated 'waterfall' (p. 184); certainly the fact that the stream descends proves nothing. Nor can I see any justification for translating OE. *ágend* by 'Lord' (p. 214). The Jutish question can hardly be considered closed (p. 306), in view of the arguments advanced by E. Wadstein in his *Norden och Västeuropa i Gammal Tid* (Stockholm, 1925), although I agree with Mr Lawrence in rejecting the identification of Jutes with *Geatas*.

Mr Lawrence's volume, we may conclude, is by no means so conservative as he thinks it is. But few can write on *Beowulf* without departing from conservative ideals, and Mr Lawrence's *Beowulf* holds to conservatism as much as any book I know on the subject. The work may safely, and indeed warmly be recommended to Beowulfians, would-be Beowulfians, and lovers of the early Middle Ages.

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A CORRECTION

SPECULUM III (1928), 349, line 10 from bottom: delete 'Germanic'; pp. 360, 361, for — ∪ ∪ — ∪, ∪ — read —, ∪ ∪ — ∪, ∪ —.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs dealing primarily with mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

P. S. Allen, H. W. Garrod, edd., *Merton Muniments*, printed for the Oxford Historical Society, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. Boards. Pp. 47.

Hans Baron, ed., *Leonardo Bruni Aretino Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften* mit einer Chronologie Seiner Werke und Briefe, Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsinstitute an der Universität Leipzig, Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928. Paper. Pp. xlii + 243. RM. 8.

Milivoje M. Bašić, ed., *Из Старе Српске Књижевности*, 3d rev. ed., Belgrade: Gece Kona, 1926. Paper. Pp. xvi + 352. 50 Dinars.

P. Boissonnade, Eileen Power, transl., *Life and Work in Medieval Europe from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xix + 39. $5.00.

Dom Louis Gougard, O. S. B., *Ermites et Reclus, Etudes sur d'Anciennes Formes de Vie Religieuse*, 'Moines et Monastères,' No. 5, Vienne: Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, 1928. Paper. Pp. iv + 144. 12 fr.

Frieda Hoddick, *Das Münstermaifelder Legendar*, Bonn diss., Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1928. Paper. Pp. 63.

Richard T. Holbrook, *Guillaume Alecis et Pathelin*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928. Paper. Pp. xii + 128.

William Witherle Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xiv + 349. $3.50.

Wilfred P. Mustard, ed., *Aeneae Siluii De Curialium Miseriis Epistola*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 102. $1.50.

Roscoe E. Parker, ed., *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*, Early English Text Society, Orig. S., No. 174, London: Humphrey Milford, 1928. Cloth. Pp. liv + 139. 10*s*.

A. Kingsley Porter, *Beyond Architecture*, Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1928. Cloth Pp. 84. $1.50.

C. W. Previté-Orton, ed., *The* Defensor Pacis *of Marsilius of Padua*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xlvii + 517.

F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xii + 491. 21*s*.

E. K. RAND, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. ix + 365. $4.00.

Fritz Saxl, ed., *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1925–1926*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928. Paper. Pp. viii + 217. RM. 12.

Rudolf Schneider, *Der Mönch in der Englischen Dichtung bis auf Lewis's* 'Monk' *1795* (*Palaestra* 155), Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1928. Paper. Pp. x + 204. RM. 15.

David Eugene Smith, *Le Comput Manuel de Magister Anianus*, Documents Scientifiques du XV^e^ Siècle, Tome IV, Paris: E. Droz, 1928. Boards. Pp. 107.

Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Frank Keller Walter, *Bibliography, Enumerative and Historical*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 519. $7.50.

D. André Wilmart, O. S. B., *L'Ancien Cantorium de l'Eglise de Strasbourg, Manuscrit Additionel 23,922 du Musée Britannique*, avec un Mémoire de M. l'Abbé J. Walter, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Seléstat, Colmar: Editions 'Alsatia,' 1928. Paper. Pp. xxii + 115.